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❧ The Explanation of the Embleme.

Pondéribus génus omne mali, probrique gravatus
Vixque ferenda ferens palma ut depressa, resurga.

Ac, velut undarum fluctus ventique furorem
Fracti populi rupes immota repello.

Clarior e tenebris, cœlestis stella, coruseo:
Victor & æternum fœlici pace triumpho.

Auro splendentem rutilo, gemmisque decoram,
At curis gravidam spernendo calco coronam.

Spinosam, at ferri facilem, quo spes mea, Christi
Auxilio, Nobis vera est tractare voluptas.

Æternam fixis fidei semperque beatam,
In cœlos oculis specto; Nobisq; paratam.

Quod vanum est, spernoquod Christi gratia pre-
Amplecti studium est: virtutis gloria merces. (bet

THough clogg'd with weights of miseries,
As Palm depress'd I higher rise.

And as th'unmoved Rock outbraves
The boistrous winds, and raging waves:

So triumph I. And in dark Night
Of sad afflictions shine more bright.

That splendid, but yet toilsome Crown
Regardlesly I trample down.

With joy I take this Crown of Thorn,
Though sharp, yet easie to be born.

That glorious happy Crown I see,
Depriv'd whereof I cannot be.

I slight vain things, and do embrace
Glory the just reward of grace.

G. D.


Clarior
CRESCIT SVB PONDERE VIRTVS


Christi
Tracto
Splendidus
Vanitas
Mundi

C R

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ

THE PORTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTY IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS

With the Papers which passed at *Newcastle* betwixt His Majesty and Mr. *Al. Henderson*, concerning Church-Government. *Anno Dom.* 1646.

Also PRAYERS used in the time of His *Restraint*.

ROM. 8. More than Conqueror, *&c.*

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Hereunto is annexed, A Letter from the Prince of *Wales*.

don, Printed for *R. Royston*, at the Angel in Ivy-lane, 1649.

An EPITAPH *upon King* CHARLES.

SO falls that ſtately Cedar; while it ſtood,
That was the onely glory of the Wood;
Great *Charls*, thou earthly God, celeſtial Man
Whoſe life, like others, though it were a ſpan:
Yet in that ſpan, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore;
Thy heavenly virtues, Angels ſhould rehearſe,
It is a theam too high for humane Verſe:
He that would know thee right, then let him (look
Upon Thy rare-incomparable Book,
And read it o're and o're; which if he do,
He'l find thee *King*, & *Prieſt*, & *Prophet* too;
And ſadly ſee our loſſe, and though in vain,
With fruitleſſe wiſhes, call thee back again.
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe, (Verſe
Though there were neither Monument nor
Thy ſuffrings & thy death let no man name;
It was Thy glory, but the Kingdoms ſhame.

J. H.

B. N. C.
F. MADAN.

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EIKΩN



I. *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*



His last Parliament I called, not more by others advise, and necessity of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination, who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crowne, as best pleasing to My People; And although I was not forgetful of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redress all publique grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by My freedom and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings, and miscarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should finde least of them in My self, not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-ballancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places, yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding some mens wel-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My self, who knowing best the largeness of My own Heart toward My Peoples good and

just contentment. pleased My self most in that good and firm understanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, My own and My Childrens Interests gave Me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of My Subjects. The onely temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen My self in some things of My wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to obliege My friends, but Mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remisness in Church, and State, had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws, and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiss in practise, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion setled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then My self; whom it most concerns both in piety, and policy; as knowing, that No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiss; and to grant whatever My Reason and Conscience told Me, was fit to be desired. I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgement to have been over-born in some things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments. My confidence had less betrayed My self, and My Kingdoms, to those advantages, which some

some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief.

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Prosperity.

MEDITATION.

FOr thou (O LORD) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not alwaies satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and hast shewed us, how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, Thou givest us cause to Repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of My calling this last Parliament; because, O LORD, I did it with an upright intention, to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdoms, are the Just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enioy them.

O LORD, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staff may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Par-

liament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with our sins.

O thou soveraign goodness and wisdom, who Over-rulest all our Counsels; over-rule also all our hearts; That the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poyson, so let thy Grace turn our Poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy War, so let this War prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesom Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours sake, Amen.

II. *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, nd this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphear, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People,

more

more then led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousness in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the business of that unfortunate Earl: when between My own unsatisfiedness in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told Me) of satisfying the importunities of some people; I was perswaded by those, that I think wished Me well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction whom in My Judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which, as a sign of My repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of Man, than of God, whose name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conscience, thereby to salve State sores; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans own bosom.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxim, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people be displeased, or destroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood, I could never have suffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* innocency, at least by denying to Sign

that destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, which My Conscience suggested to Me, then I have done since I gratified some mens unthankful importunities with so cruel a favor. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Me to sign that *Bill*, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and crushed more than they: He onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Me not to consent against the vote of My own Conscience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the sinful rashness of that business.

To which being in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgements God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcome, as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the best rule of policy is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain a like consent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Straffords* Business.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in My affairs, against the advise of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesness I was better assured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses, especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the *Bill* passed that House: And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed

ſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Straffords* greatneſs and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not Condemn him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelf and the two Houſes Vote, and do as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſs and regret I finde in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in ſhedding one mans bloud unjuſtly, (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoyding publick miſchiefs) which may (I hope) be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been ſhed in this unhappy War; which ſome men will needs charge on Me, to eaſe their own ſouls, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe My own.

MEDITATION.

BUt thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of ſinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envy, or malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould, at leaſt ſo far, have been a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O LORD, I acknowledge My transgression, and My sin is ever before Me.

Deliver Me from bloud guiltiness O God, thou God of My salvation, and My tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, for thou saweſt the contradiction between My heart and My hand.

Yet cast Me not away from thy presence, purge Me with the bloud of My Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash Me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach Me to learn Righteousness by thy Judgements, and to see My frailty in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon Me, and upon My Kingdoms, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make Me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamors, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome Me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer Me for any reason of State, to go against My Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What ever, O LORD, thou seest fit to deprive Me of, yet restore unto Me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold Me with thy free Spirit, which subjects My will to none, but thy light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in My Soul, for, Thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

LORD hear the voice of thy Sons, and My Saviours Bloud, which speaks better things; O make Me, and My People, to hear the voyce and Joy and Gladness, that the bones which hou hast broken, may reioyce in thy salvation.

III. *Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.*

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of My friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchiness of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legall Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawful correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroyl My Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publique peace, which to preserve by calling in question half a dozen men, in a fair and legal way (which God knows was all My design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Me, and My Kingdom right, in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their Innocency, and removed my suspicions; which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark (though

I sought by all speedy and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witness: The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is so false, that as God best knows, I had no such intent; so none that attended could justly gather from any thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were My followers at that time short of My ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more feared at My comming, then I was un-assured of not having some affronts cast upon Me, if I had none with Me to preserve a reverence to Me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Me both by words and deeds.

The sum of that business was this:

Those men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then My self, and so worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations; no present impunity, or popular vindications of them will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us Christians of that after un-avoidable judgement, which shall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I fore-saw, would in all likelyhood follow

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some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pitty.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all My design: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on My side, as should not have needed so rough assistance; and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

MEDITATION.

But thou, O LORD, art My witness in heaven, and in My Heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were any such wickedness in My thoughts.

Then let the enemy persecute My soul, and tread My life to the ground, and lay mine Honor in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, shew thy self.

Let not My afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin, in that matter: more then their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of My heart, and the innocency of My hands in this matter.

Plead My cause, and maintain My Right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a Storm at Sea (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earthquake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so tis no less, that he restrains the madness of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamors of the vulgar, to pass all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honor and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancyed or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My self and My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an ague, but a quotidian feaver, always encreasing to higher inflammation, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears, which some men feared themselves and others withal; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and less to be used by wise men, then those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protest, then to dictate, at last to command and overawe the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom

freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſed to count them) caſt off: By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued: by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmatical propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt minde to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe ryot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſs befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancyed.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the Publique good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldom agree; violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſutable engines, ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and time their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage,

rage when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have Men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſs moſt formidable, was, that many Complaints being made and Meſſages ſent by My ſelf and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſs could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters thamefully outraged, and abuſed, while they knew their only ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common Safety and Honors.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and punish the known Bouteſeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal and Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive and *devour*.

I confeſs, when I found ſuch a deafneſs, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fouly inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor; nor yet from My ſelf could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not onely Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelf not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſs and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury,

fury, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimity for any man for popular terrors to desert his publique station. But I think it a hardiness, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skirmish with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem My Person and Conscience from violence) God knows I did not then think of a War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after Acts, have so much weakned My self, if I had purposed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means I denyed My self in so many particulars: Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection or vindication.

Who can blame Me or any other, for withdrawing our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not flie so high, as to worry and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God who is My sole Judge, is My Witness in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My House at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reasonable fair quarter, I was resolved to bear much, and did so, but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majesty of my Place and Person, the safety of My Wife and Children, to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunity most capable of their rudeness and petulancy.

But

But this buſineſs of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the Juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſin in the glaſs of their punihment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all Reaſon, Honor, and Religion, they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſs content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publique Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think. That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we muſt leave all to God, who orders our diſorders, and magnifies his wiſdom moſt when our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

MEDITATION.

BUt thou, O Lord, art My refuge and defence to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the

the raging of the Sea, and the madneſs of the People.

The floods O Lord, the floods are come in upon Me and are ready to overwhelm Me.

I look upon My ſins, and the ſins of My people (which are the tumults of our ſouls againſt thee, O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popular inundations which thou permiteſt to overbear all the banks of Loyalty, Modeſty, Laws, Juſtice and Religion.

But thou that gatheredſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the dry land to appear, and after didſt aſſwage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke thoſe beaſts of the people, and deliver Me from the rudeneſs and ſtrivings of the multitude.

Reſtore, we beſeech thee, unto us, the freedoms of our Councels and Parliaments; make us unpaſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon, and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall we praiſe thy Name, who art the God of order and counſel.

What man cannot or will not repreſs, thy Omnipotent Juſtice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſin, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here and not ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſsions by Reaſon, to our errors by Truth, to our ſeditions by Laws duly executed, and to our ſchiſms by Charity, that we may be, as thy *Jeruſalem*, a City at unity in it ſelf.

This grant O my God, in thy good time for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, *Amen*.

V. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliament: And after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in My purposes at first to contribute what in Justice, Reason, Honor, and Conscience, I could, to the Happy success of this Parliament (which had in Me no other design but the General good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the BILL for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applyed) prevent any distempers from getting any head of prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde work with convenient recesses for the first three Years; But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity, that they wil needs make work rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amiss, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some mens fears, and compass publique Affairs; I was perswaded to grant that BILL of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out and lock the door upon all present Jealousies, and future Mistakes: I confess I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of doors, as some men have now requited me.

True, It was an Act unparalleld by any of My Predecessors; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared

declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny My ſelf in ſo high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit that My condition ſhould be worſe by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſs to deſire advantages of doing good, or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein My Intereſt lies more than any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws, My Rights as a King, would be preſerved no leſs than My Subjects; which is all I deſired. More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and leſs the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented Me of that ſetling Act: and many would needs perſwade Me, I had cauſe ſo to do; but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in Men of Honor. That the more I granted them, the leſs I ſhould have, and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted My ſelf undiminiſhed by My largeſt Conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſs Me with increaſe of it: when Men ſhall have more leiſure, and leſs prejudice; that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happineſs, who are now onely miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will ſtrive to return ſuch retributions of Honor, and love to Me, or My Poſterity, as may fully

fully compensate both the acts of My con fidence, and My sufferings for them; whic (God knows) have been neither few, no small nor short; occasioned chiefly by a per swasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to Men, that bein professedly My Subjects, pretended singula piety, and religious strictness.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which some men will needs load me withal, as if were a wilful and resolved Occasioner of M own and My Subjects miseries; while (a they confidently, but (God knows) falsly di vulge) I repining at the establishment of thi Parliament, endeavored by force and ope hostility to undo what by My Royal Assent had done. Sure it had argued a very shor sight of things, and extreme fatuity of minde in Me, so far to binde My own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used Sword against them. God knows, though I had then a sense of Injuries, yet not such as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My self by their not using favors, with the same candor wherewith they were conferred. The Tumult indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace and turn them into wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an hostile and warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given My enemies greater, and more desired advantages against me, then by so unprincely Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly setled by an Act of Parliament.

God

God knows I longed for nothing more then that My ſelf, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condeſcendings.

It had been a Courſe full of ſin, as well as of Hazard, and diſhonor for Me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to My Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability: If ſome men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thank God I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſs of My own heart, in paſſing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may ſeem leſs a Polititian to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I any reſervations in My own Soul, when I paſſed it; nor repentings after, till I ſaw that My letting ſome men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt Me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it ſelf, together with Me, could not but be daſhed in pieces, by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them ſee at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of ſinful ingratitude and diſhonor, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preſerved Me, and made Me to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their own paſſions, either to do much evil themſelves, or abuſe the overmuch goodneſs of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflections upon it as a ſin of My will, though an error of too charitable a judge-

a iudgement: Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be evil, because Mine were good.

MEDITATION.

TO thee (O My GOD) do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesses of their hearts.

Thou gavest Me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitted, to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach Me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised Mine own; and by setling them have unsetled My self.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O LORD be thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which neither admits My return to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any other, with that safety and honour which I designed.

Tis easie for thee to keep Me safe in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for thee to preserve Me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon Me, as to be able to prevent and abuse My acts of greatest Indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favors from Me can make others more guilty then My self may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O LORD, hast conferred on Me.

I beseech thee give Me and them such repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such grace as We may not abuse. Make

Make Me ſo far happy as to make a right uſe of others abuſes, and by their failings of Me, to reflect, with a reforming diſpleaſure, upon My offences againſt thee.

So, although by My ſins I am by other mens ſins deprived of thy temporal bleſsings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raiſe the greateſt Sufferers to be the moſt glorious Saints.

VI. *Upon His Majeſties retirement from* Weſtminſter.

WIth what unwillingneſs I withdrew from *Weſtminſter*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling, and victuall, are forced by Sea to a ſtorm, yet better do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee-ſhore.

I ſtayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by ſhame more than fear, to ſee the barbarous rudeneſs of thoſe Tumults who reſolved they would take the boldneſs to demand any thing, and not leave either My ſelf or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reaſon, and Conſcience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion My caſe alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reaſon concluſive to My Judgement, nor can they include, or carry with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kinde. Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with My juſt Rights, as a King, and the general good of my People. I ſee that as many men they are ſeldom of one minde, and I may oft ſee, that the *major* part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and mode-

rate

rate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills which had been enough to secure and satisfie all: If some mens Hydropick insatiablenes had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal bounty was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Councel, when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terror as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to what ever tumultuary patrones shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pitty, or redemption, that is content to have the rational soveraignty of his Soul and liberty of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom; which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to consent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which subjects Me onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Me to use My Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to what ever its subjects in Parliament shall require; as some men will needs infer; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as a King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionably to their influ-

ce on the publique, who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever My ſelf, as King, or the Houſe of Peers with Me ſhould not ſo much deſire as enjoyn them to paſs. I think My Oath fully diſcharged in that point by My Governing onely by ſuch Laws, as My People with the Houſe of Peers have Choſen, and My ſelf have conſented to, I ſhall never think My ſelf conſcientiouſly tied to go as oft againſt My Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſals, which My Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honor, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government, (that is the Law of anothers will to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonor and abſurdity they make their King the onely Man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to uſe His own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if My diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opiniativeneſs, weakneſs, or wilfulneſs, and what they call Obſtinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on My mind) yet can no man thinke it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by ſavage rudeneſs, and importunate obtruſions of violence, to have the miſt of His Error and Paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavors to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſs of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteer his courſe by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appear to him. It argues ra-

ther those men to be conscious of their defect of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weakness of their Councels, and Proposals. I may, in the Truth and uprightness of My heart, protest before God and Men; that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houses. Further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My Judgement so concurred with theirs that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things where not absolute and moral necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience in point of Honor was to be considered. I chose rather to deny My self, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personal Rights, of which I conceive My self to be Master; but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdomes; (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in Me;) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conscience I denie before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whose embased flexibleness shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when instead of Reason, and Publique concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wills and passions.

I

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

MEDITATION.

O My God, preserve thy Servant in this Native, Rational and Religious freedom. For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain: who, though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wills to thine; whose wisdom and goodness can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so far to deny our carnal reason, in order to thy sacred mysteries, and commands, that we should believe and obey rather then dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, against our consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoyneſt us to try all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Laws, which are the rules of Civil Justice; and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgements approve.

Thou knoweſt, O LORD, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set Me, and whereto the affairs of My Kingdoms at present did call Me.

My People can witness how far I have been content for their good, to deny My self; in what thou hast subjected to My disposal.

O Let not the unthankful importunities and tumultuary violence of some mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous and unmanly slavery, which should make Me strengthen them by My consent in those things which I think in My Conscience to be against thy glory, the good of My subjects, and the discharge of My own duty to Reason and Justice.

Make Me willing to suffer the greatest indignities and injuries they press upon Me, rather then commit the least sin against My Conscience.

Let the juſt liberties of My people be (as well they may) preſerved in fair, and equal wayes, without the ſlavery of My ſoul.

Thou that haſt inveſted Me by thy favors, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer Me not to ſubject My Reaſon to other mens paſſions, and deſigns, which to Me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſs of My heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Juſtice, for theſe, I know, will bring Me at laſt to peace and happineſs with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours ſake.

VII. *Upon the queens departure, and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much as the ſcandal of that neceſſity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That She ſhould be compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdaw for Her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects, that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of minde, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to Her judgement; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants, who continue firm to their former setled Principles and Lawes.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady, should be any occasion of Her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served Her for a protection among the savage *Indians*; while their rudenese and barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate all Virtues, as some mens subtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her self. The fault is, that She is My Wife.

All justice then as well as affection commands Me to study Her security, who is onely in danger for My sake, I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrackt, so as She may be in safe Harbor.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the midst of My Personal dangers, that I can perish but half, if She be preserved: In whose memory, and hopeful Posterity, I may yet survive the malice of My enemies, although they should be satiated with My bloud.

I must leave Her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects, and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no less severely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by those who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from those, that dispute their Loyalty: Nor can it be safe for any relation to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands

with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitty ſo noble and peaceful a ſoul ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſs of thoſe who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make Her vertues ſhine with greater lustre as ſtars in the darkeſt nights; and aſſure the envious world, that She loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindneſs of the Generality, and Vulgar; for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our own Houſhold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge: who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can leſs endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactors as well as their Soveraigns.

But even that policy of My enemies is ſo far venial, as it was neceſſary to their deſigns, by ſcandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanor, to ſeek to drive Her out of My Kingdoms; leſt by the influence of Her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty, as a Subject, She ſhould have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſs I may be bleſt with Her company, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of Her vertues, while I enjoy My ſelf.

MEDITATION.

THou, O LORD, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy Mercy, in thy due time, reunite us, on earth, if it be thy will; however, bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despiteful and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things as to Religion, (which is my greatest temporal infelicity) yet LORD give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our souls eternal good; and make us careful to do what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of those My Subjects, which profess the same Religion with Me, be any hinderance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardening of her, in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let Mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profess, be represented to her Judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceableness; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schism, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as

Thine; that she may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane mixtures.

That in the glass of thy Truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those holy duties which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and Greatness in our scatterings and Eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honors, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

VIII. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the Loss of My Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected Me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My self; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more, with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the compass of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyal undertakers, That bad actions

must

must always be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun then not carried on, for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men, whose words were sometime smoother then oyl, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing, unbeseeming My self, or unsuitable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as comming neareſt to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive: Keeping in compass all those impotent passions, whose excess injuries a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged My cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or secret imprecation of Mine, only blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling

from one inconstancy to another, not long after paies his own and his eldest Sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men from whom surely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they who imployed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, would not find mercy enough to forgive Him, who had so much preinherited of them: For, Apostacy unto Loyalty, some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Commmon-weal. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country: Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was so far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first employed him against Me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope many other men do in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowreness, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgement that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others. That

That which makes Me more pity him is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to Me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a noteable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an unseperable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatal, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imployers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*, though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans Honor, as wilful perpetrations of unworthy actions, which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

MEDITATION.

But thou, O LORD, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer Me not to take any secret pleasure in it, for as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to Me, so let Me not by it gratifie any passion in Me, lest I make thy vengeance to be Mine, and consider the affront against Me, more than the sin against thee. Thou

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavor of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, LORD, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish O LORD! yea LORD, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

LORD lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terror to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have done amiss, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O LORD, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercy, and truth meeting together; let my Crown ever flourish in righteousness, and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O LORD, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

IX. *Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the* King.

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Me to leave *White-hall*: what Tumults could not do, an Army must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recess hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conqueror, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more than man: and to love the inward peace of My conscience, before any outward tranquillity.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince Me? O My Soul! be of good courage, they confess their known weakness, as to truth, and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious King but by My sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King, that loves His People, and desires their love, either to kill His own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape, rather through ill counsel of some men driving

on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envying the publique should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of My self either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent bloud during My Reign have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger, or covetousness? what Widows or Orphans tears can witness against Me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with My own bloud? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Cannon know any respect of Persons.

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have studied to see what Ground of Justice is alledged for this War against Me; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion; which (to many men) seems rather the productions of a surfeit of peace, and wantonness of minds, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easily finde, or make causes of quarrel) then any real obstructions of publique Justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in My own Conscience, however some men are not willing to beleeve Me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from *White-hall* to see if I could allay the insolency of the Tumults, the not suppressing of which, no account in Reason can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted but onely to oppress both Mine and the two Houses freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament?

That

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryal, (warned by My Lord of *Straffords* neath) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of Juſtice and Freedom ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety; it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man when the ſole expoſing them to publique *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honor of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences: I know no man ſo dear to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrones; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cauticuſneſs; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſs againſt the priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then Safety, Fulneſs and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary ways

ways by free deliberations, and Votes to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activity of factious Tumults) to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the business of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for them by far the Major part of Lords, Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like maner, was the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamors, and schismatical Terrors, which could never pass, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality, while in all Reason, Justice and Religion, My conscience forbids Me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard My own, and My Kingdoms ruine, by My Defence; or prostrate My Conscience to the blind obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, then utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolical, and anciently universal government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it; Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My judgement, have also a most strict and indispensable Oath upon My Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most un-beseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving My Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can befal Me; in as much as the least

least sin hath more evil in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopal Faction at first in this point, with My consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousnes, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednes to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, and Honor for My sake, and the Commonweals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot adde My consent for the total extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolical; and so very Sacred and Divine, as not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civil Favor, and priviledge of Honor granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnes, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My own and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seem to

have

have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been honorably and Effectually represſed by exemplary Justice, and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honor and Freedom, becomming such a Senate, have come and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired; this being My necessity driving, the other My choice desiring.

But some men knew, I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carried with Me, which would never fit their designes: and so while they invited Me to come, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My self, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honor, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an Army against Me, is by the sequel so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions, or Treaties, what they would have to appease them; there was nothing of consequence offered to Me, or demands of Me, as any original difference in any point of Law, or order

order of Justice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopal, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequential, and accessary, after the Warre was by them unjustly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearness of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Army, with this design, either to stop My mouth, or to force my consent: and in this truth, as to My conscience (who was (God knows) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on My side, I do not think My Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to address My Prayer to him.

MEDITATION.

FOr Thou, O LORD, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider My enemies, O LORD, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, design

or

or preparation to embroyl My Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation, as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O LORD, art my witness, how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of My Subjects blood, as to venture My own life, which I have been oft compelled to doe in this unhappy War; and which were better spent to save then to destroy My People.

O LORD, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by warre, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make Me almost suspect My own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon Me so great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of My Enemies, and redeem My People from this miserable War; since thou, O LORD, knowest My Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloody and deceitful men; many of whom have not lived out half their days, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counsels.

Save, O LORD, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in War.

Arise, O LORD: lift up thy self, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falshood.

Thou knowest the chief design of this War is, either to destroy My Person, or force My Judgement,

Judgement, and to make me renege My Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driven to croſs *Davids* choyce and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them (though their mercies be cruel) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt My Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire; Better they deſtroy Me, then thou ſhouldſt damn Me.

Be thou ever the defence of My ſoul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will ſatisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdoms, or thy temporal Juſtice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by Mine owe Subjects hands.

But O let the blood of Me, though their King, yet a ſinner, be daſhed with the blood of My Innocent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Juſtice will finde not only a temporary expiation, but an eternal plenary ſatisfaction; both for My ſins, and the ſins of My People; whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeaſed by My Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! O My Father, for they know not what they do.

X. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am Charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civil War, the eyes that onely pity Me, and the Loyal hearts that durſt onely pray for Me, at firſt, might witneſs, which yet appear not ſo many on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt Me; My unpreparedneſs for a War may well diſ-hearten thoſe that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My unwillingneſs to fight; yet it teſtifies for Me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part, having ſo little hopes

or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My self, or to preserve what is Mine own from their proreption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against Me, and surprisals of My strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; so over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrors. I believe My Innocency, and unpreparedness to assert My Rights and Honor, makes Me the more guilty in their esteem, who would not so easily have declared a Warre against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Arms left Me, were those onely, which the ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Tears. These may serve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Soldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing My Castles, Forts, Arms, and Navy, with the Militia, is so far best for Me, that it may drive Me from putting any trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast My self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisal of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew Me the special support of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the Militia so much in reference to My own protection as My Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve Me. I am above My own, what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of making Me a glorious King, by taking away My Kingly

Power: Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to My Friends, and a Terror to My Enemies, by being unable to ſuccor the one, or ſuppreſs the other.

For thus have they deſigned, and propoſed to Me the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingſhip, as without any reality of power, ſo without any neceſſity of ſubjection and obedience: That the Majeſty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Privileges of the two Houſes, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe the ſurfet of too much Power, which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Commonwealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soveraigne Power in Subjects ſeldom agreeing with the ſtomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant Militia ſought, by ſatisfying their fears, and importunities, both to ſecure My Friends, and overcome Mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving My ſelf of a ſole power to help, or hurt any: yielding the Militia (which is My undoubted Right no leſs than the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealouſies in them, of Me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to My ſelf; I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh them and My People; If I had the ſole actual diſpoſing of the Militia, I could not protect My People further than they protected Me, and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the Militia is mutual. I would but defend My ſelf ſo far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their own evil merits and deſigns, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and

his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince Power hath been wreſted from Me, and imployed both againſt Me and Them, that neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath entruſted the publique ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of Mine as to the exerciſe of the Militia, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeem to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſterity ſuch Jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honor and Juſtice due to My Succeſſors, forbid Me to yeild to ſuch a total alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty (no leſs then Juſtice and Honor) ſhould have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclipſe My own beams, to ſatisfie their fears; who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Laws have inveſted Me: yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Poſterity, and ſucceeding Kings; whoſe juſt recovery of their Rights from unjuſt Uſurpations and Extortions, ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, than to My Subjects; whom I deſire to leave in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future; ſo as by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many factious diſtractions, which muſt needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a ſhew to the People to have more eyes to foreſee; ſo they will finde it hath more mouthes too, which muſt be ſatisfied: and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſity, than any thing of perfection,

perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy, where counsel may be in many as the Senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily where men have tryed the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkness and Eclipse (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moon, receiveth its chiefest light from Me) they will at length more esteem and welcom the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My Right in the Power of the Militia, to come short of the discharge of that Trust to which I am sworn for My Peoples protection; I conceive those men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if so it may seem) who compel Me to take this new and strange way of discharging My Trust, by seeming to desert it; of protecting My Subjects, by exposing My self to danger or dishonor, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civil War, and advantages of Power cannot be effected, but by some side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publique Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successful) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of safety, then that of the Sword and Militia; which yet are but weak defences against the strokes of Divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Consciences, which always attend injurious perpetrations.

For My self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential necessity is pleased to take from Me, in order to My Peoples tranquility and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for Me; and he is able by his

being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honor, power or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devil himself can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Arms and Militia, all refuge by Land, of Forts, and Castles, all flight by Sea in My Ships, and Navy; yea, though they study to rob Me of the Hearts of My Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive Me of My own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obstruct My way to heaven.

MEDITATION.

THerefore, O My GOD, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on My side, I shall have more with Me then can be against Me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the loss of all, be thou more then all to Me: Make haste to succor Me, thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against Me, who are encouraged to fight, under the pretence of fighting for Me: But My eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shal I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in My safety, and prosperity, behold, here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have Me; whose Judgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayst be all.

Thou hast taught Me, That no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save Me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help Me, O LORD, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on My side, and

I shall

I ſhall not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Juſtice the glory of my diſtreſs.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my Soul!

By my ſins have I fought againſt thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubject, and juſtly mayſt thou, by my own Subjects, ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclypſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footſteps ſlip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindneſs, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.

From the wicked that oppreſs me, from my deadly enemies that compaſs me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſs of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

XI. *Upon the* 19. *Propoſitions firſt ſent to the* King; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My own ſafety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, ſave onely the parting with My Conſcience and Honor. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable, and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wiſh Me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; Others are eaſily granted; The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword;

nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon My soul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of grateful exchange of Honor; or any requital for those favors, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honor they do Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more than I can give, may I but reserve to My self the Incommunicable Jewel of My Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose loss nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to Me, and while I have any Mastery of My Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yielding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of My Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken My outward state of a King; as wound that inward quiet of My Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to Me then My Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honor and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to binde My self to a general and implicite consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositi-

ons)

ons) were such a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from any Freeman, non fit to be required of any man, much less of a King, by His own Subjects; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as He doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented, not onely to binde his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistines* might with the more safety mock, and abuse him, which they chose rather to do, then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seems an arrogancy, least of all becoming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyal way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confess their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superior thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason, to Consent, or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reason, as a Man, and in Honor as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury, to confine My Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a minde to ask, whose mindes may be as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honor, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which last God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguisht, making Me their Soveraign, and them My Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regal Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him,

or

or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me truſt to their moderation, and abandon Mine own diſcretion; that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of My own ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſel of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of My ſelf, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in My Soul, and the Majeſty of My own Crown to any of My Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce Me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men, who will not admit, or do refuſe, and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others, ſitting and voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how yong States-men (the moſt part) of theſe propounders are; ſo that, till experience of one ſeven years hath ſhewed Me, how well they can Govern themſelves, and ſo much power as is wreſted from Me. I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed and unfaithful in My Truſt, to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government wholly out of My own, into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Jehues*; and whoſe forwardneſs to aſcend the throne of Supremacy, pretends more of *Pheton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at beſt they ſit in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiors; called to be My Counſellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command My Duty.

When I firſt heard of Propoſitions to be ſent Me, I expected either ſome good Laws, which had been antiquated by the courſe of time, or overlaid by the corruption of maners, had been

been desired to a restauration of their vigor and due execution; or some evil customs preterlegal, and abuses personal had been to be removed, or some injuries done by My self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be rendred to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crown being considered by them, might fairly induce Me to condescend to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My self, whom nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, binde Me (in the first place) to preserve: without which 'tis impossible to preserve My People according to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiss in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wisdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universal practise of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and special piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptness and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kindes, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-joynted, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be un obstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartial reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce Me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church, and so, punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them: and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the main, other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper in which those are wrapped up, to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts Me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the Major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Regilion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Mis-government, the Primitive Paterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church. Yet,

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupine credulity (believing that all is good, which is gilded with ſhews of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in Judgement, to be drawn into the common ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humor; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular clamors and Tumults: which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating deſigns, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in My Judgement, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded with Armies of Soldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt My Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further than I ſee cauſe; for, I look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their Livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after Factious and private Deſigns, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgement tell Me, that the Propoſitions ſent to Me, were the Reſults of the Major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedom, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect My own judgement, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want; ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their adviſe, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament.

But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a compleatness and inerrability, as to exclude My self; since none of them hath that part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honor to preserve, as My self; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wisdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of some Propositions is not more evident to Me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them savor very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation, (which in My two last famous Predecessors days, heaved at, and sometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole mass of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely so suddenly to taynt the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; some thirsting after nothing more, than a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Me, My Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reason bids Me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No less doth Reason, Honor, and Safety both of Church and State command Me, to chew such morsels, before I let them down;

If the ſtraitneſs of My Conſcience will not give Me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others do of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they have no more cauſe to quarrel with Me, than for this, that My throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am reſolved, That nothing of paſſion, or peeviſhneſs, or luſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew My negative power, ſhall have any byaſs upon My judgement, to make Me gratifie My will, by denying any thing, which My Reaſon and Conſcience commands Me not.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more than Reaſon, Juſtice, Honor, and Religion perſwade Me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, My Peoples welfare, and My own peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie My Parliament, and My People; but I will never, for fear, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſe, and oppreſs the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving Me, that free, and faithful counſel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Me from craving of the counſel of that mighty Counſellor, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline My heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

MEDITATION.

O Thou firſt and eternal Reaſon, whoſe wiſdom is fortified with omnipotency, furniſh thy Servant, firſt with clear diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice, in my Underſtanding: then ſo confirm my will and reſolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, or oppreſſions of my Enemies may ever inforce me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in my Conſcience.

Thou never made'ſt me a King, that I ſhould

be leſs than a Man; and not dare to ſay, Yea or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedom is not denied to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.

Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?

Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what partiality, and injuſtice, they deny that freedom to me their King, which thou haſt given to all Men; and which themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelves; while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their priviledges.

To thee I make my ſupplication, who canſt guide us by an unerring rule, through thy perplexed labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens propoſals; which, I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in thoſe difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own ſinful paſſions cloud, or divert thy ſacred ſuggeſtions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot pleaſe all, I care not to pleaſe ſome men; If I may be happy to pleaſe thee, I need not fear whom I diſpleaſe.

Thou that makeſt the wiſdom of the world fooliſhneſs, and takeſt in their own devices, ſuch as are wiſe in their own conceits, make me wiſe by thy truth, for thy honor, my kingdoms general good, and my own ſouls ſalvation, and I ſhall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The leſs wiſdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they ſhall be convinced of thy wiſdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of croſneſs, or humor; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy by willing;

willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the publique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure me.

Thou canst as well bless honest errors, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evil and idle word in private, at thy Tribunal; Lord make me careful of those solemn Declarations of my minde, which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weal.

The less others consider what they ask, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though mine own, and my Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expence or wast of my Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deservedly more Master than my self.

XII. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first, either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamy and misery, whom God shall finde the malicious Author or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against Me, that when they had

had impudence enough to lay any thing to My charge, this bloody opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to Me, being ſo full of ſin againſt God, diſloyalty to My ſelf, and deſtructive to My Subjects.

Some men took it very ill, not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Iriſh Rebels did, was done with My privity (at leaſt) if not by My Commiſſion: But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of My Subjects to fight, not onely without My Commiſſion, but againſt My Command, and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by My Authority, and for My Safety.

I would to God the *Iriſh* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſs of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandal, and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever fail of their Duty toward Me, I muſt bear the blame; this Honor My Enemies have always done Me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to Me, nor competent trials, either of My patience under them, or My pardon of them.

Therefore with exquiſite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falſity and contempt, with the cup of My Affliction; Charging Me not onely with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſs and diſhonor by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and blood of My own Subjects;

jects; in whose common welfare My interest lies, as much as some mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evil times, nor so cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigor, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, and the natural desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigors, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth wash My hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in My Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions, and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose tears and blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil dissentions, and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would

I would to God no man had been leſs affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate then My ſelf; I offered to go My ſelf in Perſon upon that expedition; But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdom quieted, or loath they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſs then My ſelf; or that any ſhould have the glory of My deſtruction but themſelves. Had My many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſts needs be: who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aids, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not onely to the known heads, and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to thoſe uſual pleas for mercy, which Conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecility for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I think) unevangelical Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulſe or negrect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* ſons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Juſtice, yet diſarm others, with tenders of mercy upon the ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed

to

to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kinde of Zeal counts all merciful moderation, luke-warmneſs, and had rather be cruel then counted cold, and is not ſeldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficial, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable ſuccors of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborn with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) was diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſs by miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knows with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carried on that buſineſs, by perſons of Honor and Integrity, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebels Inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſity and difficulty of affairs would then permit, I was then to ſuffer again in My reputation and Honor, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt Me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety; If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart; and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on by thoſe, that had better skill to let blood than to ſtench it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of My actions, (which are prone to finde more credulity in

in men to what is false, and evil, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above Me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny My Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try My patience, as he did his servant *Job*'s.

I have enough to do to look to My own Conscience, and the faithful discharge of My Trust as a King; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouthes and hearts, as easily as smoke, or sparks do out of a fornace; Much less to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their own depth of wickedness, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as My worst enemies can falsly say. And I hope I shall still do better than they desire, or deserve I should.

I believe it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroyl My other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not-timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever My Enemies please to say, or think) I look upon, as that of My other Kingdoms, exhausted out of My own veins; no man being so much weakned by it, as My self. And I hope though mens unsatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length cry to his justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civil Wars to sheath it self: his merciful justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure: the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of those Nations.

MEDITA-

MEDITATION.

O My God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and My Kingdoms have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſs we crucifie one another.

Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charity, thou haſt ſuffered a Spirit of Error and bitterneſs, of mutual and and mortal hatred to ariſe among us.

O LORD, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſs of thy judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſins, and remove thy judgements, which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſins be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgements, and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquility of united Kingdoms.

In the ſea of our Saviors blood drown our ſins, and through this red ſea of our own blood bring us at laſt to a ſtate of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make me ſhare in all my Subjects ſufferings; ſo give me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion;

passion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted my three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in *Ireland*, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And lead those in the ways of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errors have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those who maliciously and despitefully have raised, or fomented those cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadst pity on *Niniveh* for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousness makes them cruel; not to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the fornace of thy severe justice a Posterity, which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deal with Me, not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the woful day of my Kingdoms calamities; if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloody distractions; then let thy hand be against me, and my Fathers house. O LORD, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witness my integrity, which thou O LORD knowest right well; But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies; spare us, O LORD, and be not angry with us for ever.

XIII. *Upon*

XIII. *Upon the calling in of the* Scots, *and their coming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also special and late obligations of favors, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Party, before My own interest and Honor. But, I see, Royal bounty emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages, wherein I shall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good: I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conform this Church to their late New Model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent means, before the divine Justice: I leave to their Consciences to judge, who have already felt the misery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosness of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they cry up, as the onely just Reformation, and setling of Government and Discipline

pline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion, or ſome ſelf-ſeeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Diſcretion, for any forraign State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines onely for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſsfully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any ſuch tough and malignant humors in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications then thoſe of an Army, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by fair and equal diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſign now, ſeemed rather to cut off all diſputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For, it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergy muſt conform to the *Scots* patern, before ever they could be heard, what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings, both for their credits, who urge things with ſuch violence; and for other mens Conſciences too, who can receive little ſatisfaction in theſe points, which are maintained rather by Soldiers fighting in the Field, than Schollars diſputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion, thoſe truths gain moſt on mens Judgements and Conſciences, which are leaſt urged with ſecular violence,

lence, which weakens Truth with prejudices, and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rational conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*, who being always bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely because that party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers as sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them, at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the onely institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government, yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of My Kingdoms, without My Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles payd to the chief Governors of States, where they lived, is very clear in the Gospel, but that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavor, I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others, and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood, whose effusions run in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens, sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousness or Ambition, of both

both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon this point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move Me with, by their many Solemn obtestations and pious threatnings, but onely this, To represent to Me the wonderful necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patern, set up their ways by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery seeks to suppress, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universal way of the Church-government, and specially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I see more Rational and Religious motives, then Soldiers use to carry in their Knapsacks.

But we must leave the success of all to God, who hath many ways (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I think My self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above Mine own; and the salvation of mens Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavor to cast the Churches under My care and tuition, into the moulds

moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved, both My own and other mens Conscience, by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or settle My Religion; nor any mans else, who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much less of humble Christians, and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions, especially those, that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to Me: then I wondered, how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance, who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation, considering they were more then competently furnished with My Subjects Arms and Ammunition, My Navy by Sea, My Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I finde, that men jealous of the Justifiableness of their doings and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the People; what cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all mindes engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come into their assistance, others of them soon after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one Party thought to ri-

Yet to a ſetledneſs by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſs of ſo chargable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happineſs of reformed Government and Diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom for their advice in a full and free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the films and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſigns; In vain do men hope to build their piety on their ruine of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe confederations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from Me in a prodigality of their love and reſpects toward Me, as to make Me to deſpair of their return; when beſides the bonds of nature and Conſcience, which they have to Me, all Reaſon and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableneſs to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honor for their own advantages: However the leſs cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply My ſelf to God.

MEDITATION.

THe troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O LORD, bring thou me out of my diſtreſs. LORD direct thy Servant in the ways of that

that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against my soul, to the betraying of My Conscience, and Honor.

Thou, O LORD, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of *Judah* and *Israel*, to restore *David* with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagerness pursue him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightness in me, and I shall not despair of my Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebb, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O my God, I trust in thee; let me not be ashamed; let not my enemies triumph over me.

Let them be ashamed who transgress without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute my Soul.

Let integrity and uprightness preserve me, for I wait on thee O LORD.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

XIV. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a Solemn League and Covenant:

Where many engins of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or raze Episcopacy; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a charm and exorcism be cast out of this Church, after

more than a thousand years possession here from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for its Presbytery, like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair and Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to My self) with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a maner of carrying them on to new ways, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no less, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear moral necessity, but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement, and certainty in ones self, or that charity and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refutes fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtful be dangerous, as in things unlawful, damnable, and no less superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*: since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But

But ambitious mindes never think they have laid snares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politick and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keep the populacy fast to their Parties under the terror of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Party, without My consent, and without any like power or precedent from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those moral and eternal bounds of duty, which lie upon all My Subjects consciences, both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawful ways, since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged, nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience endeavor to carry on the best designs, (much less such as are, and will be dayly more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawful means, under that title of the Covenant: unless they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous and un-authorized novelties, before their known and sworn duties, which are indispensable, both to God and My self.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That such later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out those former gravings, and characters, which by just and lawful Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such Confederations by way of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common

road used in all factious and powerful perturbations of State or Church: Where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more studied and elaborate, then, when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is setled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws, which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wrested by secret steps, and less sensible degrees, from their known rule and worted practice, to comply with the humors of those men, who aym to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Consciences no longer, then force attends and twists them: for every man soon grows his own Pope, and easily absolves himself of those ties, which, not the commands of Gods word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terror of a Party casts upon him; either superfluous and vain, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they finde the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegal ways seldom, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties, therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, though diverse or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions, and reservations, so as they cross not their chief Design which is laid against the Church, and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; So little do

do men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I believe many that love Me and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all piety and loyalty: who firſt yielded to it, more to prevent that immi-nent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in caſe they wholly refuſed it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein the latitude of ſome general Clau-ſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavoring what law-fully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for theſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience, which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exerciſe of mens duties.

I would to God ſuch as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themſelves within thoſe lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhneſs of taking it: which muſt needs then appear, when beſides the want of a full and lawful Authority at firſt to enjoyn it, it ſhall actually be carried on be-yond and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within ſuch bounds of Piety, Law, and Loy-alty, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelf, or the Publique Peace: Againſt which, no mans lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partial advice of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and com-pliance, contrary to their former judgements, profeſſion, and practice) ſuch foul ſcandals

and ſuſpitions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candor at home: all whoſe judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward than My ſelf to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartial advice) be, by Gods Word, and right reaſon, convinced to be amiſs. I have offered more than ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequele of ſome mens actions make it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legal Rights than the Biſhops, and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deer, muſt be deſtroyed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſms, Hereſies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blaſphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compaſs, by which Factious men ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown with My Conſent) ſo I have always had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not onely what the pious munificence of My Prede-

predeceſſors hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bounty.

But no neceſſity ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joſeph's* true piety abhorred to do: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred employment of all due incouragements; and like that other hardhearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encreaſe the Task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the red ſea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either It, or Him, who eſteems it His greateſt Title to be called, and His chiefeſt glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its juſt fruitions; equally abhorring, Sacriledge, and Apoſtacy.*

I had rather live as My Predeceſſor *Henry* 3. ſometime did, on the Churches Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony & Dowry, which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts, and People, is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers, and Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuſe the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſs than a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs whoſe occaſions

casions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are ways enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressor of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be accessary to either.

MEDITATION.

TO thee, O LORD, do I address my prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashness of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, moral, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word and the Laws of this Kingdom, have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity of robbing thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though my Treasures are Exhausted, my Revenues

Revenues Diminished, and my Debts Encreased, yet never suffer me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on my Throne and Conscience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue to those that serve thee and thy Church all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donors, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousness, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudg that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them nor theirs; Let them be as *Naboth's* Vineyard to *Ahab*, gall in their mouths, rottenness to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O LORD, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favor my righteous dealing, O LORD, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

XV. *Upon*

XV. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* King, *to stir up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppress the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designs: For, I can more willingly lose My Crowns, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms so dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honor.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kinde of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honor is not so afflictive to Me, as the sin and danger of My peoples souls, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not onely, not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pity was above My anger; nor have My passions ever

ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errors more than their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errors, not My Person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to do him better service, and My people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyal injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulness of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions, who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the Injuries done unto MySubjects, is as sharp as those done to My self; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once, both themselves and Me.

For, this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire,

desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary windes the storm of their miseries would be rather encreased then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happiness; if it could expiate, or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die many deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonorably to betray My own just Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, so Malicious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication; I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by

by their own evil maners, and seared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals, which they have cast on Me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honor.

First, nothing gave Me more cause to suspect, and search My own Innocency; then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety; For this gave to vulgar mindes so bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or speak well of Me, and not to Blaspheme him; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyal to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Me, then forsake Me.

Nor is it strange that so religious Pretensions as were used against Me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose Me; Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodness

goodneſs of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſs of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſs of theſe mens judgements muſt be made up by their clamors and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more trial of his grace, as to the conſtancy of My Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſs in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me, and My People.

Contrary to thoſe well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſetled in the Confeſſion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the moſt calm, and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing it hath moſt of Privitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were My Subjects, any way fight againſt My Relligion, as ſome men would needs interpret it: eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they ſaid, or did, ſo they might prevail.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would be eſteemed, ſhould not conceive, That differences of perſwaſions in matters of Religion

may

may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſs of duty, Allegiance, and ſubjection. The firſt they owe as men, and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond, they owe to Me in Common, as their King; different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civil Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who finde moſt fault with Me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to enforce Me, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My ſelf.

Nor did I more than is lawful for any King, in ſuch exigents to uſe the aid of any his Subjects.

I am ſorry the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their Allegiance, than many Proteſtant Profeſſors; who ſeem to have learned, and to practice the worſt Principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in Me, (and very pleaſing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then diſputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was diſputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no leſs then their prayers as Chriſtians.

The noiſe of My Evil Counſellors was another uſeful device for thoſe, who were impatient any mens counſels but their own, ſhould be followed in Church or State; who were ſo eager in giving Me better counſel that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or Honor, as a King; making their counſels more like a drench that

must

must be powred down, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errors and frailties My self, or My Counsellors. They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormous extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to Me, or My self any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either Me, or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redress what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amiss; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My self, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Concessions; and withal, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian Patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another

Another artifice used to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their designs, was, The noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the popular sense; which is to do what ever man liketh best.

If the Divinest liberty be to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion; I envy not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I desire to enjoy My self; So far am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted Me so prodigal of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous designs over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever desire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth its rule and direction; losing justly his safety while he seeks an unreasonable liberty.

Time will best inform My Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardiness to use their King with so severe restraints; against all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth, and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tenderness (attended with humility and meekness, not with proud

proud and arrogant activity, which seeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schism) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the onely King of mens Consciences; and yet he hath laid such restraints upon men, as command them to be subject for Conscience sake, giving no men liberty to break the Law established further then with meekness and patience, they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publique Peace.

The truth is, some mens thirst after Novelties, others despair to relieve the necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the secret (but principal) impulsives to these popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perswaded to expend much of those plentiful Estates they got, and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My self exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and encrease the ungrateful insolencies of My People.

For Mine Honor, I am well assured, that as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object, so My reputation shall like the Sun (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendor, as these feral birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom God hath suffer'd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and merciful God will do Me good, for some mens hard, false, and evil speeches against Me; wherein they

they ſpeak rather what they wiſh, than what they believe or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honor, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames) than thoſe men do, who pretending to ſo much piety, are ſo forgetful of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their King againſt any of thoſe, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evil of dignities, and bring railing accuſations againſt thoſe*, who are honored with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing God, ſhould not Honor their King.

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majeſty, in compariſon of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obſcurity; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black veils be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the radiations of true glory and majeſty.

MEDITATION.

THou, O LORD, knoweſt my reproach, and my diſhonor, my adverſaries are all before thee.

My ſoul is among lions, among them that are ſet on fire, even the Sons of men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows, their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt me are ſworn together.

O my God, how long ſhall the ſons of men turn my glory into ſhame? how long ſhall

they

they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest my Enemies prevail against me, and lay mine honor in the dust.

Thou, O LORD, shalt destroy them that speak lies; the LORD will abhor both the blood-thirsty, and deceitful men.

Make my righteousness to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may bless them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer *Shimei*'s tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgement on *David* he might seem to justifie his disdainful reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not be brought upon them.

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evil speaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me *Davids* patience and *Hezekiah*'s devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let *Sheba*'s seditious speeches, *Rabshekah*'s railing, and *Shimei*'s cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to the, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, do thou bless, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse,

ſiſe, may become the head ſtone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and ſave me, from the reproach of them that would ſwallow me up.

Hide me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the ſtrife of tongues.

XVI. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, muſt needs undo whatever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdom or godlineſs.

And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the People than to tell them, They ſerved God amiſs in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgy, or Forms of conſtant Prayers muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or maner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered, and aboliſhed, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Laws in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men who gloried in their extemporary veyn and fluency: or others who conſcious to their own formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon

on it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the maner of using Set and prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsome words being known and fitted to mens understandings are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a wel-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of prayer, since he prays to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reades the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as wel before hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sense; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and disgestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely disuse (as too many); but wholly cast away and contemn

the

the *Lords-Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original patern of all set Liturgies, in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expressions in Publique prayer, or any sacred administrations, merits a greater brand of sin, than that which they call Coldness and Barrenness: Nor are men in those novelties less subject to formal and superficial tempers (as to their hearts) than in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the most extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of constancy: Nor are constant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer, and devotion, than un-premeditated and confused variety, to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the Peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite justle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation and concurrent advise, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer) than any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have; which, what they are many times (even

there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſs, impertinency, rudeneſs, confuſions, flatneſs, levity, obſcurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſleſs, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and indeed, profane a maner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of publique compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſs, order, and gravity, becoming thoſe duties; which by this means are expoſed at every celebration to every Miniſters private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errors, diſorders, and defects, both for judgement and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in the Church, unavoidably following every mans ſeveral maner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the wiſdom and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of Publique compoſure.

The want of which I believe this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in more errors, ſchims, diſorders, and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However,

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and abet thoſe innovations, (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Religion forbids, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the publique Liturgy.

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partial ſeverity of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed and maintained the Service-book; or refuſed to uſe it, cried out of the rigor of Laws and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their Conſciences, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Lyturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were clothed in, and confined to fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity, as not to ſuffer without penalty, any to uſe the Common-prayer-Book publiquely, although their Counſciences binde them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawful Conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humors moſt pretended Conſcientious liberties, which freedom, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe abilities, even in their extemporary way, comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober debates, leſt being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould

have been driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to diſpleaſe ſome faction of the people, by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I believe they have offended more conſiderable men, not onely for their numbers and eſtates but for their weighty and judicious piety, than thoſe are, whoſe weakneſs or giddineſs they ſought to gratifie, by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to ſay *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Curſings of Me in their own forms, inſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their onely puniſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of Publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of ſound and wholſom words.

MEDITATION.

AND thou, O LORD, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denieſt us not a new and freſh ſenſe of our old and daily wants; nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſſions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and well-adviſed Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is always the ſame, and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy ſpiritual perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or maner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our petitions in them both. Whoſe

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities, tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cause of formality.

LORD keep us from formal Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with *David*, and other holy men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amiss within us, and there will be less to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devotion.

XVII. *Of the differences between the King and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the Government of the Church by Bishops, the common jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of piety, as policy, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unless he hath

such an influence upon Church-men, and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have so far the Keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as King) intrusted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspition, that I encline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practice of all Christian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new ways, contrary to the full, and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbyased men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed

verned by the Apostles and their immediate Successors, the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charity be supposed, that all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holy patern: That since the first Age, for 1500 years not one example can be produced of any setled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universal practice agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture directions, and examples, are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the setling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of well-being, than the want of the word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiastical use of them, and Apostolical constitution: which to Me seems no less evidently set forth, as to the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the setling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them, as President-Bishops above others in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiastical discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name, were then and may now, not improperly be call'd *Bishops*; as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power; there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that special dignity which had extraordinary call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, until use, (the great arbitrator of words, and master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name, those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the Churches, the honor of (whose name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that special authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspition or reproach of arrogancy, to those, who were by Apostolical propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the patern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose special power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopal claim, as from divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound doctrine, and clear testimonies of all Churches practice, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytors and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godliness.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay and smother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Episcopal Government, which beyond all equivocation

equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Poſterity may ſee (if ever theſe Papers be publique) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccleſiaſtical examples, where on My judgement was ſtated for Epiſcopal Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obſtinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function, which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to Me, as to recompence the injuries and loſſes, I and My deareſt relations with My Kingdoms have ſuſtained, and hazarded chiefly at firſt upon this quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſal practice the beſt commentary, but alſo in right reaſon and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civil Governments, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeveral orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſm and diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolical wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied ſo many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive, it was not the favor of

Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first setled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used, and injoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsel and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errors, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burthen, and *odium* of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is paternal, not Magisterial; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavored to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other ways can say against this, or for theirs: And I finde they have, as far less of Scripture grounds, and of Reason, so for examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute, wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still)

ſtill) whom neceſſity of times and affairs rather excuſeth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never ſee any reaſon why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Biſhops, ſhould be forced to conform to thoſe few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to thoſe Churches at this day, who, Governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms lately Governed by Biſhops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wiſdom or charity, where Chriſtians differ, (as many do in ſome points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Chriſtian world (except a handful of ſome Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandal in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince of their Errors in ſome point of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolical: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks (except thoſe Arrians) have ſtrayed from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late general approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their novelty; I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conform contrary to their Conſciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had lany free and impartial

partial debate, contrary to their former Oath and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against My consent, have not onely quite cryed down the Government by Bishops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiastical uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so total change, little reason can be given, besides the *Scots* Army coming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appear the greatest enemies to, and Betrayers of their own interest: for Presbytery is never so considerable or effectual, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will finde as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favor of the People, and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcase they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of maners have brought upon it. It being a gross vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practice, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of

of Authority, Civil Honor and Estate, which My Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peaceful times, is hardly payed to any Governors by the measure of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanness exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious mindes, and maners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those incouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgement of men failed, My good intention made My error venial: And some Bishops, I am sure I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governors, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Ministers equal; and the Independent inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgement touching Episcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any design or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Me their King and Soveraign, as some men have endeavored to do, against all these grounds of My Judgement, to consent to their weak and divided novelties.

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The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more than I do, That the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other ways: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude; when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being neceſſary for the Churches well-being, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority they had above others; which could not end with their perſons; ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyal paſſions had not ſo blown up ſome mens mindes againſt it, that what they want of Reaſons or Primitive Paterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſome mens zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes, and Revenues, hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſs ſin, than Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion, which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement. I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Wars

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſs of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon, with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that, to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wiſheth not My damnation, perſwade Me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins, of Sacriledge and Perjury? beſides the many perſonal Injuſtices I muſt do to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Livelyhoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderneſs of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath bindes Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious freedom which every man ought to preſerve, and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me, That I muſt, and ought to diſpence with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which bindes Me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange My lot ſhould be valid in that part, which both My ſelf, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very natural and eſſential liberty of our ſouls; yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think My ſelf juſtly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſs, and ſacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civil diſſentions;

ons; till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in My Soul abhor; as many ways highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto, if I should shamefully, and dishonorably give My consent; yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can My late condescending to the *Scots* in point of Church-government, be rightly objected against Me, as an inducement for Me to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms; for it should be considered, that Episcopacy was not so rooted and setled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yielding to them been so happy and successful, as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meekness, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty, in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect My judgement to be byassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontedness of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the maners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new ways of Government.

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Churches (whose paterns are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms (by

God's

Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to primitive and uniform Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affairs should be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of My Judgement and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

MEDITATION.

FOr thou, O LORD, knowest my uprightness and tenderness, as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence, to be overborn against my Conscience.

Arise, O LORD, maintain thine own Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in purest and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpful to thy afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed; others pass by without regard, either to pity, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to be Master of

of my other Rights as a King, yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.

Preserve, from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporal blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sins and errors, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Boar, and subtile Foxes, to waste and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Posterity, of being the first Christian King in this Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errors I would rather, with *Constantine*, cover with silence, and reform with meekness, than expose their persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O LORD, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying, O my God, to deliver both me and it, from unreasonable men, whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace, thereby letting in all maner of errors, schisms, and disorders.

O thou God of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, assuage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

XVIII. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other Offers made by the King.*

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like

like Men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, than My Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither My self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, than Force; but also of Christianity, to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend My self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any success I had, ever enhaunce with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honor, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a King, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honor, and Conscience, would give Me leave; nor were the remaining differences so essential to My Peoples happiness, or of such consequence, as in the least kinde to have hindred My Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years, before ever those demands were made, some of

of which, to deny, I think the greateſt Juſtice to My ſelf, and favor to My Subjects.

I ſee Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allayed, as they are raiſed: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, muſt be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to loſe in war, ſtudied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and ſuſpected.

In Church affairs, where I had leaſt liberty of prudence, having ſo many ſtrict ties of Conſcience upon Me; yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo far to the ſetling of them, as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetouſneſs, or ſuperſtition had not engaged more, than any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might ſeem to advance true piety; I onely ſought to continue what was neceſſary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſewhere ſet down My thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the primitive Apoſtolical patern, and the practice of the Univerſal Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, onely to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacy, and fighting againſt Me) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſs, and infirmity of minde in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, than Mans Peace, and rather loſe the Churches honor, than croſs ſome mens Factious humors.

God knows, and time will diſcover, who were moſt too blame for the unſucceſsfulneſs of that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excuſable both before God, and all unpaſſionate men, who

who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavored no less the restauration of Peace to My people, than the preservation of My own Crowns to My Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness, and glory most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was always to ask something, which in reason and honor must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavoring first to make Me destroy My self by dishonorable Concessions, that so they might have the less to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negations of Mine: I have always the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refused.

The highest tide of success set Me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebb below a Fight: Though I never thought it any sign of true valor, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the most part presage the unsuccessfulness of any Treaty, was, some mens unwillingness to Treat: which implied, some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonableness they were loath to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by Soldiers, than by Counsellors.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a better

better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so, though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

MEDITATION.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy self: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings, to see thy truth both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of War we have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace, which onely Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

XIX. *Upon the various events of the War; Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Successes of this unhappy war, have at least, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try Me with Victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is onely

onely the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he pleases to repress the confidence of those that fought against Me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on My part he let Me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach Me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of My Cause: and those that were with Me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies less punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility. which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personal and private sins may oft-times over-ballance the Justice of Publique engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and strength, the less doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event, or success, can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Those with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or against Me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence, as are most impertinent

for

for those men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Laws: first by unsuppressing the Tumults, after by lifted Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword, all their demands against the present Laws and Governors; which can never be such as some side or other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation, of them to a Rebellion against them, some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who died fighting against Me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title can with truth be applied onely to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantagious designs by any Innovation, were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and My self, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their Souls.

Their wounds, and temporal ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happiness; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyal fierceness could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed had the better, against My side in the Field, but never, I believe,

lieve, at the bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how false and unintended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against Me, and the Laws established; in whose safety and preservation, all honest men think the welfare of their Country doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on My side might joyn true piety with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithful to God and their own souls, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavors of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews, or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without

My ſorrow, becauſe it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat, which made Me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but onely reſtore the Laws and Liberties of My people; which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with My Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My deſire was neither to boaſt of My power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed at laſt would make all things to work together for My good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation and My Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over My ſelf. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted Me, which God ſaw beſt for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine juſtice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by puniſhing our ſins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to uſe ſo great a bleſſing.

My often Meſſages for Peace ſhewed, that I delighted not in War: as My former Conceſſions ſufficiently teſtified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedneſs for it, how little I intended it.

The conſcience of My Innocency forbade Me to fear a War; but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing, but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had

Had I yielded less, I had been opposed less; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happy conclusion of so unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet; we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to destroy one another: for, the most prosperous successes on either side, impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sins un-subdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desireable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and less against God, we shall cease fighting against one another: I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

MEDITATION.

O My God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self, and my Enemies by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength thou withdrawest thine, and go'st not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are ſomething, and when we are nothing; that thou mayſt have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O LORD, knoweſt, how hard it is for me to ſuffer ſo much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evils which they compel me to inflict upon them; puniſhing my ſelf in their puniſhments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am ſtill a ſufferer; I beſeech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which onely can be ſufficient for me.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make me moſt reformed: that I may be not onely happy to ſee an end of theſe civil diſtractions, but a chief Inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firm, and bleſſed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up all Parties pious ambitions, to overcome each other with reaſon, moderation, and ſuch ſelf-denial, as becomes thoſe, who conſider, that our mutual diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefeſt intereſt.

If O LORD, as for the ſins of our peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of war; ſo for the ſins of war thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſſing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſs and grief, hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt and neceſſary defence; but waſh me with that precious blood, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peace-maker, Jeſus Chriſt. Who will, I truſt, redeem me ſhortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

XX. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honor Me ſo far, as to make Me an Inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of maners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled; which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance, the paſſions and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite ſcandal of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church; what novelties of Schiſms, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Me, have followed, (as ſhowres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and with My ſelf, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamors and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publique ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels, and endeavors: what is acted by Factions,

cannot but offend more than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion, to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſels, as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo its like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applyed (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church Affairs, I diſlike not further, then that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the laſt of which, they knew to be of Apoſtolical inſtitution, at leaſt; as of Primitive and Univerſal practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by ſecret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common intereſt and honor of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion, againſt examples of all Ancient Churches, the Laws in force, and My conſent; which is never to be gained, againſt ſo pregnant light, as in that point ſhines on My underſtanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not ſo clear and punctual in precepts, there the conſtant and Univerſal practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive Command, is the beſt Rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or reſtore to Presby-

tary,

tery, what with Reaſon or Diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither juſt, as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Presbytery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſels; and ſuch (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the moſt of thoſe Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens deſigns: which no doubt many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations, and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles, of Chriſts Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fined on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favored figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in minde, to thank God, for that clearer light, wherein they live; The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publique ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errors, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undece[illegible] which bold and ignorant men liſt to [illegible] their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſms, and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome

four or five years consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these, and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitful Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedy the inconveniencies and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work, to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws, and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self and all My Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meekness, wisdom, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publique Reformers had need first Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts, which

which they purpose to try on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publique Reformations, to such private designs as must needs hinder the publique good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church, cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State; nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *fear God*, is, *Honor the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdom may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it, since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words, and actions, both against Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evil means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unless God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkness, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

MEDITATION.

THou, O LORD, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings, instead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls.

That we may in clearness of judgement, and uprightness of heart be a means to reform

what is indeed amiss in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O LORD, and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State; quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weakness of their judgements; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousness, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawful ways shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary work. That I and my People may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

XXI. *Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they know not how with honor and civility to use it: Nor do I think with sober and worthy mindes any thing in them, could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of vertue and Nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing

ing of My Papers; The freedom and secrecy of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane, than to expose them to publique view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses, or popular captations, which some men use in their Speeches, and Expresses; I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover, how they are divided betwern the love and care I have, not more to preserve My own Rights, than to procure their peace and happiness, and that extreem grief to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to see My constancy to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavor to avoid the pressures of My Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies; no man can blame, who loves Me, or the Common-wealth, since My Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how soon mens design, like *Absoloms*, is by enormons actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I cannot onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury My expressions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions;

yet

yet the Innocency of My chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then an happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honor, not more to My own, then My peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by thoſe My Letters may be convinced, that I can both minde and act My own, and My Kingdoms affairs, ſo as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have always been very loath ſhould be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evil Counſellors.

Its probable ſome men will now look upon Me as My own Counſellor, and having none elſe to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My ſelf: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of My own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conſcience, which they labor to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing Me to think their Counſels to be other then good for Me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when My Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gains the greateſt eſteem and applauſe; as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſreſpect: As if good fortune were always the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vicious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectual to their deſigns, as thoſe that moſt rout and waſte My Credit

Credit with My People, in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Laws, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms; First I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; by exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of My Honor, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartial Justi e can, and will overrule the most perverse wills and designs of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of Mine Enemies thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost any more then so many Papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be pay'd to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and Honor, which they owe to their *King*, present, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonor, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderness which *Noahs* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonorable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependan e upon the People.

Nor

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose Me to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any real uncomelinesse; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believe, hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as *a vile Person*, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any notion of Majesty.

MEDITATION.

But thou, O LORD, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingencies of humane affairs, make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of *Achitophel*, turning it to *David's* good, and his own ruine: so canst thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious and contemptible to my people.

I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, who canst witness with my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my enemies endeavor by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud mine Honor, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give me, and I can't content to be dishonored

mored for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpoſe to honor thee, and then I know thou wilt honor me, either by reſtoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majeſty, which thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to ſeek to deprive me of; or by beſtowing on me that crown of Chriſtian patience, which knows how to ſerve thee in honor, or diſhonor, in good report or evil.

Thou, O LORD, art the fountain of goodneſs and honor; thou art clothed with excellent Majeſty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wiſdom, juſtice, and mercy, and I ſhall not want that degree of Honor, and Majeſty, which becomes the Place in which thou haſt ſet me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my ſalvation.

LORD, by thy Grace, lead me to thy glory, which is both true and eternal.

XXII. *Upon His Majeſties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Me three Kingdoms, yet in theſe he hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honor reſt My Head: Shewing Me, that himſelf is the ſafeſt Refuge, and the ſtrongeſt Tower of defence, in which I may put My Truſt.

In theſe extremities, I look not to man ſo much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly caſt My ſelf, and My now diſtreſſed affairs upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſſity is now My Counſellor, and commands Me to ſtudy My ſafety, by a diſguiſed withdrawing from My chiefeſt ſtrength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who firſt began My Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honorably to compoſe them.

This

This My confidence of Them, may dis-arm and overcome them: My rendring My Person to Them, may engage their affections to Me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be My chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellor and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soul to God, and My self; nor shall any necessities compel Me to desert Mine Honor, or swerve from My Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusual confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive Me of all Military power to defend My self; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have Adhered to Me, and apply to those that have Opposed Me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous than that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no less solicitous for My Friends safety, than Mine own, chusing to venture My self upon further hazards, rather than expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, than to contest in vain.

I must now study to re-inforce My judgement,

ment, and fortifie My minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Souls liberty, or make My Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded My consent to their new demands.

I thank God no success, darkens or disguises Truth to Me; and I shall no less conform My words to My inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a King ought to be among loyal Subjects, *full of power*.

Reason is the divinest power: I shall never think My self weakened while I may make full and free use of that. No eclypse of outward fortune shall rob Me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions; not morosely to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reason and Religion bids Me deny.

I shall never think My self less than My self, while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of My Conscience, the onely Jewel now left Me, which is worth keeping.

MEDITATION.

O Thou Soveraign of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battel, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weakness.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perverseness of Will, but just perswasions of Honor, Reason, and Religion, which have made me thus

far to hazard my Person, Peace, and Safety, against Those, that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conscience always accompany me, in my solitude and desertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortress of my Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righteousness, and shew me thy salvation.

Make my way to please thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

XXIII. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the King to the* English, *and His Captivity at* Holmby.

YEt may I justifie those *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived Me; for I never trusted to them further, than to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should do it; and that My price should be so much above My Saviors.

These are but further Essays, which God will have Me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix Me on himself; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands Me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy My self, which I lose, while I let out My hopes to other.

The solitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives Me leisure enough to study the worlds vanity, and inconstancy.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious, and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare My Soul in sin; nor gain that of Me, which may make My Enemies more insolent, My Friends ashamed, or My Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got My Person into their power; since My Soul is still My own: nor shall they ever gain My Consent against My Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy; from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honor, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellors with Me, but a good Conscience in Me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to My Parliament, till they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish Me; not more a King, and far less both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint; which though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be My snare; nor shall the love of any liberty entangle My soul: Better others betray Me, than My self: and that the price of My Liberty should be My Conscience; the greatest injuries My Enemies seek to inflict upon Me, cannot be without My own consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of Me but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy My self and Mine.

Although they should destroy Me, yet they shall have no cause to despise Me.

Neither

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to Me, as the peace of My Conscience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My Word may injure more than any War can do; while I gratifie a few to oppress all.

The Laws will, by Gods blessing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of My Subjects; if I bury them not by My Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonor, and injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If My captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it, his souls, his Peoples, and Posterities thraldom.

After-times may see, what the blindeness of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them; happily I might redeem My self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whose solitude hath not left Me alone.

MEDITATION.

FOr thou, O GOD, infinitely good, and great, art with me, whose presence is better than life; and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Bless me still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancy in Justice, as a King.

Though thou sufferest me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy self; and which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let

Let no fire of affliction boyl over my paſſion to any impatience, or ſordid fears.

There be many ſay of me, There is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon me, and I ſhall never want ſafety, liberty, nor Majeſty.

Give me that meaſure of patience and conſtancy, which my condition now requires.

My ſtrength is ſcattered, my expectation from Men defeated, my Perſon reſtrained: O be not thou far from me, leſt my Enemies prevail too much againſt me.

I am become a wonder, and a ſcorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew ſome token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be aſhamed, becauſe thou LORD haſt holpen and comforted me: eſtabliſh me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and ſuffer thy will, as thou wouldſt have me.

Be merciful to me, O LORD, for my Soul truſteth in thee: yea, and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until theſe calamities be overpaſt.

Ariſe to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killeſt me, yet will I truſt in thy mercy, and my Saviors merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadeſt me through the vail and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I fear none ill.

XXIV. *Upon their denying His Majeſty the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive Me of all other civil comforts and ſecular Attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better

enabled

enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help a spiritual harvest of grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined Me unto, adds the Wilderness to My temptations; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation: But to deny Me the Ghostly comfort of My Chaplains, seems a greater rigor and barbarity than is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aymming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to be.

They that envy My being a King, are loath I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive Me of all things else, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sense Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of some of My Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the Unchristianness of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see Me prefer My

Own

own Divines before their Miniſters: whom, though I reſpect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them ſo proper for any preſent Comforters or Phyſitians, Who have (ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe calamities, and inflicting theſe wounds upon Me.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that devotional complyance and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to bear in thoſe holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; ſince their judgements ſtanding at a diſtance from Me, or in jealouſie of Me, or in oppoſition againſt Me, their Spirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with Mine, or Mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and moſt comfortable; whoſe golden Rule, and bond of Perfection conſiſts in that of mutual Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worſe then the diſeaſe, and ſome Comforters more miſerable then miſery it ſelf; when like *Jobs* friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones minde with patience; but perſwade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of Gods mercy; and by juſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Inſolent Enemies.

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred Function; that I have hazarded My own Intereſt, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it My duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomely requited by ſome of them; who may live to repent no leſs for My ſufferings, than their own ungrateful errors, and that injurious contempt and meanneſs, which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pity

I pity all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My special Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgement, and most sutable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, than to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldness, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble and judicious gravity, as shews the speaker to be at once considerate of Gods Majesty, the Churches honor, and his own Vileness; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what maner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confess I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publique Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn My heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency: which as I do not wholly exclude from publique occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness, as to the outward maner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main and most necessary requisites both in constant, and occasional, solitary, and social Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minds, with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers,

fers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one I have been always educated and exercised; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-prayer sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin of raylingagainst, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Ve soli*, than to that of *Ve vobis, Hypocritæ*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by My Denyers sufficient of My self to discharge My duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Psalms, and Prayers, the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperors affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and providence hath, for the most part, always distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of

Prieſt, of Princes and Preachers, both in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Churches; I am ſorry to finde My ſelf reduced to the neceſſity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For ſuch as ſeek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty; would no leſs enforce Me to live many Months without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unleſs I become My own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Chriſtian King, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My own, or other mens; by how much they flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections leſs diſtracted, than thoſe, which are encombred with ſecular affairs: beſides, I think a greater bleſſing and acceptableneſs attends thoſe duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is ſubject to Chriſt, and through his merits dayly offers it ſelf and its ſervices to God, every private believer is a King and Prieſt, inveſted with the honor of a Royal Prieſthood; yet, as to Eccleſiaſtical order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Prieſt or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was always bred to more modeſt, and, I think, more pious Principles: the conſciouſneſs to My ſpiritual defects makes Me more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which holy and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford Me; eſpecially in theſe extremities, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of My Subjects to reduce Me; ſo as to leave them nothing more, but My life to take from Me: and to leave Me nothing to

deſire,

desire, which I thought might less provoke their jealousie and offence to deny Me, than this of having some means afforded Me for my souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choyce of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no less than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them but onely this, That they may seem too able and too well affected toward Me and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Me to serve My self; though I must confess I bear with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, than of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from My Wife and Children, since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affection; but from those more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me and help My Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation, (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Orator or Instructer.

MEDITATION.

TO thee therefore, O my GOD, do I direct my now solitary prayers; what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darkness, and quicken my dulness.

O thou Sun of righteousness, thou sacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all

fulneſs: From thee all-ſufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me. The ſingle wreſtlings of *Jacob* prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duel, when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelf; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſs with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervency might inflame the coldneſs of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy Houſe with the voice of joy and gladneſs, worſhipping thee in the unity of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſs, as a Sparrow on the houſe top, and as a coal ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might beſt kindle, preſerve, and encreaſe the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the ſacrifice of prayers, and incenſe of praiſes, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakeſt not the bruized Reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoaking Flax, do not deſpiſe the weakneſs of my prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my ſoul in this uncomfortable loneneſs; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denials of thoſe helps, which I much want, and no leſs deſire.

O let the hardneſs of their hearts occaſion the ſoftnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreaſonable denials of my Religious deſires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſs encline thine ear to me; who art a God eaſie to be entreated; thine ear

is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, whi h thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me, thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O LORD, canst at once make me thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) dayly offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my self to thee; who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou, O LORD, didst cause by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the vessel, should not spend, nor the little oyl in the cruise fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my soul, which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths I have formerly learned, now fail my memory, nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholsome food for the refreshing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse than to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting than teaching me; whose mouths are prone r to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O LORD of truth, how oft they wrest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction, (which are clear for their subjection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men under color of long prayers, have sought to devour the house, of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O Let not those mens balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppress my heart, I will ever more pray against their wickedness.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver me, O LORD, and all those Loyal and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadness, and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

XXV. *Penitential Meditations and Vows in the King's solitude at* Holmby.

GIve ear to my words, O LORD, consider my Meditation, and hearken to the voyce of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou hearest the voyce of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou, LORD, shouldst be extream to mark what is done amiss, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my Place adding weight to my offence.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personal, and my Peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, O LORD, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee. Though

Though thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come far ſhort of *Davids* piety; yet ſince I may equal *Davids* afflictions, give me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of *David*.

Let the penitent ſence I have of my ſins, be an evidence to me, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee; though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turn thee (O LORD) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſs in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſs, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to ſee thy goodneſs in the land of the living.

Let not the ſins of our proſperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery trial conſume the droſs, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; Let it I beſeech thee be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Baniſh from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee do thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O LORD, as thou haſt given me an heart to pray unto thee; ſo hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and my Kingdoms; in continuing the light of thy Goſpel, and ſetling thy true Religion among us.

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Juſtice.

In ſuppreſſing the many Schiſms in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt reſtore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predeceſſors.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my People to thy ſelf in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewel of theſe Civil Wars.

If thou wilt bleſs us with the freedom of publique Counſels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments from the inſolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines, and ſpoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt reſtore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then ſhall my ſoul praiſe thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then ſhall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefeſt care.

Then wil I rule my People with Juſtice, and my Kingdoms with equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever own as the rightful ſucceſſion, ſo the merciful reſtauration of my Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, ſafe-

ty,

ry, and honor, to my chiefest City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my hand, to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charity, which I now make unto thee O LORD.

As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake, those that have offended me in any kinde; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions; for thy sake, O LORD, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the ways of amnesty and indempnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulness.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace, are toward my People.

Hear my prayer, O LORD, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soul, commit thy way to the LORD, trust in him, and he shall bring it to pass.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou, O LORD, hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

XXVI. *Upon the Armies Surprisal of the King at* Holmby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or suffer, in this new and strange scene of

affair, I am not much solicitous; since little practice will serve that man, who onely seeks to represent a part of honesty and honor.

This surprize of Me, tells the world, that a King cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that Party where He appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that City.

Well may I change My Keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their King; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the Presbyterian rigor, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Laws, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals

vals ſervice, in that they carry on a buſineſs of ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming My Perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſſion, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not be thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſign they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes and the City: which ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſin in the glaſs of the preſent terrors and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blinde as not to ſee herein the hand of divine juſtice; they that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armes, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſin, but add ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, to defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as My ſelf was forced to do) from the rudeneſs of the Tumults, were counted Deſertors & outed of their Places in Parl.

Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forſakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary inſolencies, and Betrayers of the freedom and honor of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to preſent Advantages

tages than their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the Authors and Abbettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I always wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer, any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despair of their Loyalty to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of My prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befal such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty: fatal blindeness frequently attending and punishing wilful, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows, who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will finde that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor

Nor is it poſſible to gain a fair period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, than in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publique conſiſtency, whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the known Laws, than to the various wills of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant ways, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſs: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Soldiers principles, and intereſts, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the Publique peace, that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as far as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them than My ſelf: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo far eſteem that valor and gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain My ſelf, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

MEDITATION.

But thou, O LORD, who art perfect Unity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy Juſtice hath divided.

Deliver me from the ſtrivings of my People, and make me to ſee how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight againſt me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another; to the continuance of my Kingdoms diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the ways of peace, from which they have ſwarved: which conſiſts not

in

in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joynt and due observation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me even such as thou wouldst have me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity which thou alone canst give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O LORD, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to add fewel to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publique peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sin, nor shall they be long undisarmed and un-destroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against me.

Their sins exposing them to thy Justice-their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardness helped to destroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon them-





Natus Mar 29.° 1630

Ætatis suæ 19.

themselves, who the less they weep for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves. O let not my blood be upon them and their children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me

But thou, O LORD, canst, and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, than of mans cruelty or thy own justice.

XXVII. *To the Prince of* Wales.



On, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late Troubles, come to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd; they may be so far useful to You, as to state Your judgement aright in what hath passed; whereof, a pious is the best use can be made; and they may also give You some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kinde of deceiving and lessening the injury of My long restraint, when I finde My leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of My self, and useful to You; That neither You, nor any other, may hereafter measure My Cause by the Success; nor My Judgement of things by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon You, and some Others, whom I have most cause to love as well as My self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense than of Mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom You have abov

bove other Princes; that You have begun, and now ſpent ſome years of diſcretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees ſet in winter, than in warmth and ſerenity of times; or amidſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honor, or to be contented onely with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, ſuch as tend to the Publique good; for which Princes ſhould always remember, they are born, and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdom; the other ſoftned by the unparalel'd proſperity of *Solomon's* Court; and ſo corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honor, and Kingdom, by thoſe flatteries, which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adverſity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather You ſhould be *Charls le Bon*, than *le Grand*, good, than great; I hope God hath deſigned You to both, having ſo early put You into that exerciſe of his Graces, and Gifts beſtowed upon You, which may beſt weed out all vicious inclinations, and diſpoſe You to thoſe Princely endowments, and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place You.

With God I would have You begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign Diſpoſer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and ſetteth up Another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty You can attain to, is, to be ſubject to him,

him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; also in the dispensation of civill Power, with Justice and Honour to the publique Peace.

Piety will make You prosperous; at least it will keep You from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his owne soule at last.

To which center of true happinesse, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawne Me nearer to himselfe. You have already tasted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are already wel-grounded and setled in Your Religion: The best profession of which, I have ever esteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which you have been educated, yet I would have your owne Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your owne Religion, and not other mens custome or tradition, which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as comming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have otherwhere expressed, and often offered, though in vaine. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for Your soule, than your Kingdomes Peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devill of Rebellion, doth commonly turne himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new lights: When some mens Con-

Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they crie out zeale.

So that, unless in this point You be well setled, You shall never want temptations to destroy You and Yours, under pretensions of Reforming matters of Religion; for that seems, even to worst men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affection, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous, hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severity of Censuring other Mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Faction, or applying to any publique Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in Your Judgment, and the Church well setled; Your partiall adhering, as Head, to any one Side, gaines you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth you in others; who thinke themselves, and their profession first despised, then persecuted by You: Take such a course as may either with calmnesse & charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of Power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: You may never expect lesse of loyalty, justice, or humanity, than from those, who engage into religious Rebellion; their interest is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may heare from them *Jacob's* voice, but you shall feel they have *Esau's* hands. No-

Nothing seemed lesse considerable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeares; so compliant they were to publique order: not indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgements: But 'as soone as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humors fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflamations) so did all, at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master: till time and military successe discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniforme Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concerne Religion and the Churcches peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectuall suppressing Errors and Schismes, which seem at first but as a handbredth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your owne soule, and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of civill Justice, wherein the setled Laws of these Kingdomes, to which You are rightly Heire, are the most excellent rules you can governe by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and prerogative of any King, who ownes his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection,

subjection, as it preserves their property, peace and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Lawes to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot returne any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed, and exercised in remitting, rather than exacting the rigor of the Lawes; there being nothing worse than legall Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion, and Lawes, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of My sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimony of My own Conscience; The Troublers of My Kingdomes having nothing else to object against Me but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws established before those alterations they prpounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learne that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in which is wrapt up the publique Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deale with Me, as to the removall of these pressures, and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of My Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retaine in My soule, what I believe is right before God.

I

have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soule, the Church, and My People, and to You also, as the next and undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease, bring You, as I hope he will: My councell and charge to You, is, That You seriously consider the former, reall, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsell, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affaires of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likely to be alwaies more constant and impartiall to the interests of Your Crowne and Kingdome than any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosnesse, and asperity of some mens passions, humours, and private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Lawes, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up solid piety, and those fundamentall

damentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and Justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the best incouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodnesse both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine You the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer waies of virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with different & opposite Factions, (for so I must needs call & count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Lawes established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Lawes, and to Me) and are secured from that feare, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all Factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious designes, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up & hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, & Liberty: As the Wolf is not lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appeare no better than a Wolfe under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My charge and counsell to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any designes, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse, piety, and virtue, towards the People)

People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither feare any detection, (as they doe, who have but the face and mask of goodneſſe) nor ſhall you fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountaines of congealed factions ſhall by the ſunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendour of Your virtues be thawed and diſsipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, That none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences than thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to uſurpe power over them; Let then no paſsion betray You to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe owne ſinne and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all princely arts, and clemency to heale the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may include all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Lawes; and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and inſecurities.

I would have You alwaies propenſe to the ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired & accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and neceſsity, but of Chriſtian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived Me of all; and I thanke God, I have a heart to doe it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this

this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, than those Subjects, who sensible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their owne Soules most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality sets You beyond any Duell with any Subject; so the nobleness of Your mind must raise You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to your owne merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love & loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of Gods mercy, and My Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope You will study to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his owne mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Lawes have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sinne can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your owne honour, and the Kingdomes peace.

But if You never see My face againe, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment & obscurity, (which the perfecting some Mens designs require) wherein few hearts

hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require and entreat You as Your Father, and Your King, that You never suffer Your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of fantastique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetning, or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand; if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily Answered to them, or Your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England*: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldness to present threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirit) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of

true Piety, both of them are to be *known by their fruits*; the sweetness of the Vine and Figtree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertain any aversation, or dislike of Parliaments, which in their right constitution, with Freedom and Honor, will never injure or diminish Your greatness, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that Freedom, and Honor, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publique interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and Honorable wayes to contribute their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by publique consent; without tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsom food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored to Our Rights, but God in his severest justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickedness, I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonorable, and irreligious terms.

Keep

Keep You to true principles of piety, virtue, and honor, You shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of Your honor will consist in Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife, who hath many ways deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to bless Me with so many hopeful Children, (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleased to make You an Anchor, or Harbor rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by Your wisdom, justice, piety, and valor, of what the folly and wickedness of some men have so far ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons, either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honor, Conscience, or lives.

When they have destroyed Me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My blood will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven, so I beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deserted Me, or engaged against Me, through the artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward horror will be their first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no miss of Me, when I am gone, so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I believe You will finde them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In sum, what good I intended, do You perform, when God shall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it. The deception wil soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since My Restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.*

I pray God bless You, and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your honor in the love of God and Your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by My destruction; let My memory ever, with My Name, live in You; as of Your Father, that loves You: and once a King of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honor, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honor of My Crown, the privilege of Parl. the liberties of My People, and My own Conscience, (which, I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thousand Kingdomes.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore Me to My Rights. I cannot despair either of his mercy, or of My Peoples love and pity.

At

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Savior Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

XXVIII. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and His Majeſties cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more than enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death: for I know there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the ſpace, but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burden of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealouſies, and cruel paſſions, whoſe envy or enmity againſt Me makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My proſperity made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality:

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is always uncertain: Death being an eclipſe, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy days.

But My now long and ſharp adverſity hath ſo reconciled in Me thoſe natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are diſpelled; and the ſpecial horror of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although My Death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to Me with all thoſe terrible aggra-

vantions, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bless God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysonous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the antidote of his Death against them; which as to the immaturity, unjustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to die; or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to die; if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life; those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us overlive our own fates; while We are deprived of health, honor, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a King, I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good-will of my People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and onely the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from

from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honor of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valor, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die out of weariness of life; and a want of that heroick greatness of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Samson*'s Lyon, but they yield much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sodain, and barbarous death; in the strength of My years; in the midst of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpless Spectators; My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however, I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My Life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods sole custody and disposal: Whom

I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to Me. I confess it is not easie for Me to contend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God suffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddenness of a barbarous Assasination; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will, it may be, seek to adde (as those did, who Crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with less pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make My death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraign; who know that no Law of God or Man invests them with any power of Judicature without Me, much less against Me: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavor My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Soveraign; wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, must by shedding My blood seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their own consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiors, than this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding, those spe-

cious

cious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice a-gainſt Delinquents, applied onely to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſignes, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſsing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlaine.

With them, My greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My ſelfe with the Church and State by My Word, or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſsions of Mine could ever yet, either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdome of brambles, which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My Innocency will find him both My Protector, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I owne as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knowes them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of My death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing Me.

Their impatience to beare the loud cry of My bloud, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by ſhedding theirs, who with them, moſt thirſted after mine.

The ſad confuſions following My deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to Me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince My Troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many waies pleaded My Cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſinne was their onely ſecurity; who have cauſe to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up Death in the victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not only the honour to imitate his example *In ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake*, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their ſoules from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeems to be their onely rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactor of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their owne ſafety by My danger, and the ſecurity of their lives and deſignes by My death; forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſin are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſſe God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſſe from Me, as that of his wrath may paſſe from all thoſe, whoſe hands by deſerting Me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to My death

death are embrued with My bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from Me; whoſe mercy I believe, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive Me of.

The glory attending My death will far ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavie and envied Crownes of this world, when My God hath mercifully crowned & conſummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the ſhadows of My earthly Kingdomes among men, for the ſubſtance of that Heavenly Kingdome with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp and neceſſary tyranny of my Deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of My Subjects, who doe not onely pity and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

Theſe know, how to excuſe My failings, as a man, and yet to retaine, and pay their duty to Me as their King; there being no religious neceſsity binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errors of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publike; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believe, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, do already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evill dealings againſt Me in the

the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their owne thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been so cruell as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest & meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdaine of their ill-gotten and worse-used Authority: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designes against Me, the Church and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace, which I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunall I shall not feare to appeare, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Me and My causelesse Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly successe (rather like Sophisters, than sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely cleare, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of My Cause, and clearnesse of My Conscience before God and toward My People will carry Me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above Me in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause, of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the designe. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sayls of

Pirats.

Pirats, doth not juſtifie their piracy and rapine.

I looke upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soule, to have been worſted in My enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Lawes of the Land, the Freedome and honour of Parliaments, the rights of My Crowne, the juſt liberty of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſſe, overborne them all; as ſome men have now evidently done, whatever deſignes they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends & loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more cheerfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) than they can give it to Me, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt Me.

And as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to owe more to My Enemies, than My Friends; while thoſe will put a period to the ſins and ſorrowes attending this miſerable life; wherewith theſe deſire I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more than Conquerour through Chriſt enabling Me; for whom I have hitherto ſuffered: as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, againſt Errour, Faction, and Confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the depth of death, which I owe for ſin to nature, ſhall be raiſed as a giſt of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of My owne ſinne, as from God, and the effect of others ſinnes, as men, both againſt God & Me; yet as I hope My owne ſinnes are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingredients to

imbitter

imbitter the cup of My death, so I desire God to pardon their sinnes, who are most guilty of My destruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed Victories over Me.

Though their sinne be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent; that they may be pardoned: Both which, I pray God they may obtain; that My temporall death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor doe I wish other, than the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast Me overboard; though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other meanes to appease the storm themselvs have raised but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My Enemies cruelty cannot prevent My preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed My Soule with My Body; of whose salvat ion while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despaire, they have onely discovered this, that they doe not much desire it.

Whose unchuritable and cruell Restraints, denying Me even the assistance of any of My Chaplaines, hath rather enlarged; than any way obstructed My accesse to the Throne of Heaven.

MEDITATION.

WHere thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountaine of Eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the Just Inflicter of death

death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to Our ſelves, and live in thee: than by living in Our ſelves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpeciall graces and comforts in My Soule, as a Chriſtian.

If thou Lord wilt be with Me, I ſhall neither feare or feel any evill, though I walk through the vayle of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death is the worke of a weake and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O my Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with me as a Man; make to know what it is to paſſe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redemeer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt me, yet thou haſt incouraged me to truſt in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not far from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me the goodneſs of thy will, through the wickednesſe of theirs.

Thou giveſt me leave as a Man to pray, that this Cup may paſſe from Me; but thou haſt taught Me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to adde, not My will, but Thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.

As

As I belive thou haſt forgiven all the errours of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrors of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gaine; and in death, advantage.

Though my Deſtroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet doe not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they loſe their owne Soules?

Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelfe, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Sonne a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him, while at once he ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for My Murtherers, louder than the cry of mine againſt them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due conviſtions of their ſin, and let them not at once deceive and damne their owne Soules by fallatious pretenſions of Juſtice in deſtroying me, while the conſcience of their unjuſt uſurpation of power againſt me, chiefly tempts them to uſe all extremities againſt me.

O LORD, thou knoweſt I have found their mercies to me as very falſe, ſo very cruell; who pretending to preſerve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deale not with them as bloud thirſty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compaſsion and my charity.

And when thou makeſt inquiſition for my bloud, O ſprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Soules with the bloud of thy Sonne, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſſe over them.

Though

Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too little to entertaine at once both them and me, yet let the capacious kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my Enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-blessed eternity.

LORD, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.

FINIS.

THE PAPERS WHICH Passed at Newcastle betwixt His Sacred Majesty and Mr. *Alex. Henderson*, & Concerning the Change of Church-Government, *Anno Dom* 1546.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderson.*

His MAJESTIES *first Paper.*

Mr. *Henderson*,



Know very well what a great disadvantage it is for Me, to maintain an Argument of Divinity with so able & learned a man as your self, it being your, not My profession; which really was the cause that made Me desire to hear some learned man argue My Opinion with you, of whose abilities I might be confident, that I should not be led into an Error, for want of having all which could be said, layed open unto Me: For indeed, My humor is such, that I am still partial for that side, which I imagine suffers for the weakness of

of those that maintain it; always thinking that equal Champions would cast the ballance on the other part; Yet since that you (thinking that it will save time) desire to go another way, I shall not contest with you in it, but treating you as My Physitian, give you leave to take your own way of cure; onely I thought fit to warn you, lest if you (not I) should be mistaken in this, you would be fain (in a maner) to begin anew.

Then know, that from My Infancy I was blest with the King My Fathers love, which, I thank God, was an unvaluable happiness to Me, all His days, and among all His cares for My education, His chief was, to settle Me right in Religion; in the true knowledge of which, He made Himself so eminent to all the World, that, I am sure, none can call in question the brightness of His fame in that particular, without shewing their own ignorant base malice: He it was, who laid in Me the Grounds of Christianity, which to this day I have been constant in; so that whether the worthiness of My Instructer be considered, or the not few years that I have been setled in My Principles; it ought to be no strange thing, if it be found no easie work, to make Me alter them: and the rather, that hitherto I have (according to S. *Pauls* rule, *Rom.*14.22.) been happy in *not condemning my self, in that thing which I allow*: Thus having shewed you how, it remains to tell you what I believe, in relation to these present miserable distractions.

No one thing made Me more reverence the Reformation of My Mother, the Church of *England*, than that it was done (according to the Apostles defence, *Acts* 24.18.) *neither with multitude, nor with tumult*, but legally and orderly; and by those, whom I conceive to have onely the reforming power; which, with many other inducements, made Me always confident that the work was very perfect, as to Essentials; Of which number Church-Government

ment being undoubtedly one, I put no question, but that would have been likewise altered, if there had been cause; which opinion of Mine, was soon turned into more than a confidence, when I perceived, that in this particular (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing, but according as it was deduced from the Apostles, to be the constant universall custome of the Primitive Church; and that is was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, we should deprive our selves of a lawful Priesthood, and then, how the Sacraments can be duly administred, is easie to judge. These are the principal Reasons, which make Me believe, that Bishops are necessary for a Church, and, I think, sufficient for Me (if I had no more) not to give My consent for their expulsion out of *England*; but I have another obligation, that, to My particular, is a no less tie of Conscience; which is My *Coronation Oath*: Now if (as S *Paul* saith, *Rom.* 14. 23.) *he that doubteth is damned if he eat*, what can I expect, if I should, not onely give way knowingly to My Peoples sinning, but likewise be perjured My self?

Now consider, ought I not to *keep My self from presumptuous sins*? and you know who says, *What doth it profit a man, though he should gain the whole world, and lose his own Soul*? Wherefore My constant maintenance of *Episcopacy* in *England*, (where there was never any other Government since Christianity was in this Kingdome) Methinks, should be rather commended, than wondred at; My Conscience directing me to maintain the Laws of the Land; which being onely My endeavors at this time, I desire to know of you, *What warrant there is in the Word of God, for Subjects to endeavor to force their Kings Conscience? or to make him alter Laws against his will*? If this be not My present case, I shall be glad to be mistaken; or, if My Judgement in Religion hath been misled all this time, I shall be

be willing to be better directed: till when, you muſt excuſe Me, to be conſtant to the Grounds which the *King My Father* taught me.

C. R.

Newcaſtle, May 29 1646.

For His Majeſty.

Mr Alex. Henderſon's *firſt Paper.*

SIR,

1. IT is Your Majeſties royal goodneſs, and not my merit, that hath made Your Majeſty to conceive any opinion of my abilities; which (were they worthy of the ſmalleſt teſtimony from Your Maj.) ought in all duty to be improved for Your Majeſties ſatisfaction. And this I intended in my coming here at this time, by a free, yet modeſt expreſsion of the true motives and inducements which drew my minde to the diſlike of Epiſcopal Government, wherein I was bred in my yonger years at the Univerſity. Like as I did apprehend that it was not Your Majeſties purpoſe to have the queſtion diſputed by Divines on both ſides; which I would never (to the wronging of the cauſe) have undertaken alone; and which ſeldom or never hath proved an effectual way, for finding of truth, or moving the mindes of men to relinquiſh their former Tenents, *Dum res tranſit à judicio in affectum*; witneſs the Polemicks between the Papiſts and us, and among our ſelves, about the matter now in hand, theſe many years paſt.

2. *Sir*, When I conſider Your Majeſties education under the hands of ſuch a Father, the length of time wherein Your Majeſty hath been ſetled in Your Principles of Church-Government; the Arguments which have continually in private and publike, eſpecially of late at *Oxford*, filled Your Majeſties ears for the

Divine

Divine Right thereof; Your Coronation Oath, and divers State-reasons which Your Majesty doth not mention: I do not wonder, nor think it any strange thing, that Your Majesty hath not at first given place to a contrary impression. I remember that the famous *Joannes Picus Mirandula* proveth by irrefragable reasons (which no rational man will contradict) That no man hath so much power over his own understanding, as to make himself believe what he will, or to think that to be true, which his Reason telleth him is false; much less is it possible for any man to have his Reason commanded by the Will, or at the pleasure of another.

2. It is a true saying of the Schoolmen, *Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quoad specificationem*, Mine own will, or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter; but no will or command can constrain me to determine otherwise then my reason teacheth me. Yet *Sir*, I hope Your Majesty will acknowledge, (for Your Paper professeth no less) that according to the saying of *Ambrose*, *Non est pudor ad meliora transire*, It is neither sin nor shame to change to the better: *Symmachus* in one of his Epistles (I think to the Emperor *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*) alledgeth all those motives, from education, from prescription of time, from worldly prosperity, and the flourishing condition of the Roman Empire, and from the Laws of the Land, to perswade them to constancy in the ancient Pagan profession of the Romans, against the imbracing of the Christian Faith. The like reasons were used by the *Jews* for *Moses* against Christ; and may be used both for Popery and for the Papacy it self, against the Reformation of Religion and Church-Government; and therefore can have no more strength against a Change now, than they had in former times.

3. But Your Majesty may perhaps say, That this is *petitio principii*, and nothing else but the begging of the question; and I confess it were

were ſo, if there can be no Reaſons brought for a Reformation or Change; Your Majeſty reverences the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as being done legally and orderly, and by thoſe who had the Reforming Power: and I do not deny, but it were to be wiſht, that Religion where there is need, were always Reformed in that manner, and by ſuch power, and that it were not committed to the Prelats, who have greateſt need to be reformed themſelves, not left to the multitude, whom God ſtirreth up when Princes are negligent: Thus did *Jacob* reform his own family, *Moſes* deſtroyed the golden Calf, the good Kings of *Judah* reformed the Church in their time: but that ſuch Reformation hath been perfect, I cannot admit. *Aſa* took away Idolatry, but his Reformation was not perfect; for *Jehoſaphat* removed the high Places; yet was not his Reformation perfect, for it was *Hezekiah* that brake the braſen Serpent, and *Joſiah* deſtroy'd the Idol-temples, who therefore beareth this Elogy, *That like unto him there was no King before him.* It is too wel known, that the Reformation of K. *Hen.* 8. was moſt imperfect in the Eſſentials of Doctrine, Worſhip and Government; And although it proceeded by ſome degrees afterward, yet the Government was never reformed, the head was changed, *Dominus non Dominium*; and the whole limbs of the Antichriſtian Hierarchy retained, upon what ſnares and temptations of Avarice and Ambition, the great Enchanters of the Clergy, I need not expreſs. It was a hard ſaying of *Romanorum Malleus Groſted* of *Lincoln*, That Reformation was not to be expected *niſi in ove gladii cruentandi*: yet this I may ſay, That the Laodicean lukewarmneſs of Reformation here, hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the godly in this Kingdom; occaſion of more ſchiſm and ſeparation, then ever was heard of in any other Church; and of unſpeakable grief and ſorrow to other Churches which God did bleſs

bleſse with greater purity of Reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reſerved for Your Majeſty, that to Your comfort and everlaſting fame, the praiſe of godly *Joſiah* may be made yours; which yet will be no diſpraiſe to your royal Father, or *Edw. 6.* or any other religious Princes before You; none of them having ſo fair an opportunity as is now, by the ſupreme Providence, put into Your Royal hands. My ſoul trembleth to think and to foreſee, what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected. I will neither uſe the words of *Mordecai*, *Eſth.* 4. 14. nor what *Savanarola* told another *Charls*, becauſe I hope better things from Your Majeſty.

4. To the Argument brought by Your Majeſty (which I believe none of your Doctors, had they been all about you, could more briefly, and yet ſo fully and ſtrongly have expreſſed) (*That nothing was retained in this Church, but according as it was deduced from the Apoſtles, to the conſtant univerſal practice of the Primitive Church; and that it was of ſuch conſequence, as by the alteration of it, we ſhould deprive our ſelves of the lawfulneſs of Prieſthood* (I think Your Majeſty means a lawful Miniſtry) *and then how the Sacraments can be adminiſtred, is eaſie to judge.*) I humbly offer theſe conſiderations: Firſt, what was not in the times of the Apoſtles, cannot be deduced from them: We ſay in *Scotland*, It cannot be brought But, that is not the Ben; but (not to inſiſt now in a Litourgy, and things of that kinde) there was no ſuch Hierarchy, no ſuch difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter in the times of the Apoſtles, and therefore it cannot thence be deduced; for I conceive it to be as clear, as if it were written with a Sunbeam, That Presbyter and Biſhop are to the Apoſtles one and the ſame thing, no majority, no inequality or difference of office, power or degree betwixt the one and the other, but a meer identity in all. 2. That the Apoſtles intending

tending to ſet down the Offices and Officers of the Church, and ſpeaking ſo often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that, not upon occaſion, but of ſet purpoſe; do neither expreſs nor imply any ſuch Paſtor or Biſhop as hath power over other Paſtors, although it be true, that they have diſtinctly and particularly expreſt the office, gifts and duties of the meaneſt Officers, ſuch as Deacons. 3. That in the Miniſtery of the New Teſtament there is a comely, beautiful, and divine order & ſubordination; one kinde of Miniſters both ordinary and extraordinary, being placed in degree & dignity one before another, as the Apoſtles firſt, the Evangeliſts, Paſtors, Doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot finde in Offices of the ſame kinde, that one hath majority of power, or priority of degree before another; no Apoſtle above other Apoſtles (unleſs in Moral reſpects) no Evangeliſt above other Evangeliſts; or Deacon above other Deacons; why then a Paſtor above other Paſtors? In all other ſorts of Miniſters ordinary and extraordinary a parity in their own kinde, only in the office of Paſtor an inequality. 4. That the whole power, and all the parts of the Miniſtry, which are commonly called *the power of Order and Juriſdiction*, are by the Apoſtles declared to be common to the Presbyter and Biſhop: And that *Mat.*15.16,17. the gradation in matter of Diſcipline or Church-Cenſures, is from one, to two, or more; and if he ſhall neglect them, Tell it to the Church; he ſaith not, Tell it to the Biſhop: there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never ſo eminent. If theſe conſiderations do not ſatisfie, Your Majeſty may have more, or the ſame further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly deſire Your Majeſty to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from the practice of the Primitive Church, and the univerſal conſent of the Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papiſts for

ſuch traditions as nò Orthodox Divine will admit. The Law and Teſtimony muſt be the Rule. We can have no certain knowledge of the practice univerſal of the Church for many years: *Euſebius* the prime Hiſtorian confeſſeth ſo much, The learned *Joſephus Scaliger* teſtifieth, That from the end of the *Acts of the Apoſtles* until a good time after, no certainty can be had from Eccleſiaſtical Authors about Church matters. It is true, *Diotrephes* ſought the preheminence in the Apoſtles times, and the myſtery of iniquity did then begin to work; and no doubt in after-times ſome puffed up with Ambition, and others overtaken with weakneſs, endeavored alteration of Church-Government; but that all the learned and godly of thoſe times conſented to ſuch a change, as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Thirdly, I will never think that Your Majeſty will deny the lawfulneſs of a Miniſtery, and the due adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches, which have no Dioceſan Biſhops, ſith it is not onely manifeſt by Scripture, but a great many of the ſtrongeſt Champions for Epiſcopacy, do confeſs, that Presbyters may ordain other Presbyters; & that Baptiſm adminiſtred by a private perſon, wanting a publike calling, or by a Midwife, and by a Presbyter, although not ordained by a Biſhop, are not one and the ſame thing.

7. Concerning the other Argument taken from Your Majeſties Coronation Oath; I confeſs, that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath (ſo ſacred a thing is it, and ſo high a point of Religion) much tenderneſs is required: and far be it from us, who deſire to obſerve our own ſolemn Oath, to preſs Your Majeſty with the violation of Yours. Yet Sir, I will crave Your leave, in all humbleneſs and ſincerity to lay before Your Majeſties eyes this one thing, (which perhaps might require a larger diſcourſe) that although no humane authority can diſpence with an Oath, *quia Reſ*

gio juramenti pertinet ad forum Divinum; yet in ſome caſes it cannot be denied, but the obligation of an Oath ceaſeth: As when we ſwear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superior, who afterwards ceaſeth to be our Lord and Superior; for then the formal cauſe of the Oath is taken away, and therefore the obligation, *Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus; ſublato relato, tollitur Correlatum.* Or when any Oath hath a ſpecial reference to the benefit of thoſe to whom I make the promiſe, if we have their deſire or conſent, the obligation ceaſeth; becauſe all ſuch Oaths from the nature of the thing, do include a condition. When the Parliaments of both Kingdoms have covenanted for the aboliſhing or altering of a Law, Your Majeſties Oath doth not binde You, or Your Conſcience to the obſerving of it; otherwiſe no Laws could be altered by the Legiſlative Power. This I conceive hath been the ground of removing Epiſcopal Government in *Scotland*, and of removing the biſhops out of the Parliament of *England*. And I aſſure my ſelf, that Your Majeſty did not intend at the taking of Your Oath, that although both Houſes of Parliament ſhould finde an alteration neceſſary, although (which God almighty avert) You ſhould loſe Your ſelf, and Your Poſterity, and Crown, that You would never conſent to the aboliſhing of ſuch a Law. If Your Majeſty ſtill object, that the matter of the Oath is neceſſary and immutable; that doth not belong to this, but to the former Argument.

8. I have but one word more concerning Your Piety to Your Royal Father, and teacher of happy Memory, with which Your Majeſty does conclude. Your Majeſty knows that King *James* never admitted Epiſcopacy upon Divine Right; That His Majeſty did ſwear and ſubſcribe to the Doctrine, Worſhip, and Diſcipline of the Church of *Scotland*; that in the Preface of the latter Edition of *Baſilicon Doron*, His Majeſty gives an honorable teſtimony

to those that loved better the simplicity of the Gospel, than the pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and that he conceived the Prelats to savor of the Popish Hierarchy, and that (could His Ghost now speak to Your Majesty) he would not advise Your Majesty to run such hazards for those men, who will chuse rather to pull down Your Throne with their own ruine, than that they perish alone. The Lord give Your Majesty a wise & discerning Spirit to chuse that in time which is right.

June 3. 1646.

For Mr. Alex. Henderson.

A Reply to his Answer to My first Paper, *June* 6. 1646.

His MAJESTIES *second Paper.*

Mr. *Henderson*,

IF it had been the honor of the Cause which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put Pen to Paper, or singly to have maintained this Argument against you (whose Answer to My former Paper is sufficient, without other proofs, to justifie My opinion of your abilities) but, it being meerly (as you know) for My particular satisfaction, I assure you that a Disputation of well chosen Divines, would be most effectual; and, I believe you cannot but grant, that I must best know how My self may be best satisfied; for certainly My Taste cannot be guided by another Mans Palate: and indeed I will say, that when it comes (as it must) to Probations, I must have either *Persons* or *Books* to clear the Allegations, or it will be impossible to give Me satisfaction. The foreseeing of which made Me at first (for the saving of time) desire that some of those Divines which I gave you in a List, might be sent for.

2. Concerning your second Section, I were much too blame, if I should not submit to that saying

saying of S. *Ambrose* which you mention, for I would be unwilling to be found less ingenuous then you shew your self to be in the former part of it; wherefore My Reply is, that as I shall not be ashamed to change for the better, so I must see that it is better before I change, otherwise inconstancy in this were both sin and shame; and remember (what your self hath learnedly enforced) that no mans Reason can be commanded by another mans Will.

3. Your third begins, but I cannot say that it goes on, with that Ingenuity, which the other did; for I do not understand, how those Examples cited out of the Old Testament do any way prove that the way of Reformation, which I commend, hath not been the most perfect, or, that any other is lawful, those having been all by the Regal Authority; and because *Henry* the Eighths Reformation was not perfect, will it prove that of King *Edward* and qu. *Elizabeth* to be unperfect? I believe a new moode and figure must be found out to form a Syllogism, whereby to prove that: but however, you are mistaken; for, no man who truly understands the English Reformation, will derive it from *Henry* the Eighth, for he onely gave the occasion; it was his Son who began, and qu. *Elizabeth* that perfected it; nor did I ever averre, that the beginning of any Humane Action was perfect, no more then you can prove that God hath ever given approbation to multitudes to Reform the Negligence of Princes: For, you know, there is much Difference between Permission, and Approbation: But all this time, I finde no Reasons (according to your Promise) for a Reformation, or Change (I mean since qu. *Elizabeths* time.) As for your *Romanorum Malleus* his saying; it is well you come off it, with (yet this I may say) for it seems to imply, as if you neither ought nor would justifie that bloody ungodly saying: and for your comparing our Reformation here to the Laodicean

lukewarmness, proved by Complaints, Grievings, &c. all that doth, and but unhandsomly, *Petere principium*; nor can Generals satisfie Me; for, you must first prove, that those Men had reason to complain, those Churches to be Grieved, and how we were truly the Causers of this schism and separation: as for those words which you will not use, I will not answer.

4. Here indeed you truly repeat the first of My two main Arguments; but by your favor, you take (as I conceive) a wrong way to convince Me; It is I must make good the Affirmative, for I believe a Negative cannot be proved; Instead of which, if you had made appear the Practice of the Presbyterian Government in the Primitive times, you had done much; for I do averre, that this Government was never Practised before *Calvin*'s time; the Affirmative of which, I leave you to prove; My task, being to shew the lawfulness, and succession of Episcopacy, and, as I believe, the necessity of it: For doing whereof, I must have such Books as I shall call for; which possibly upon perusal, may, one way or other, give Me satisfaction; but I cannot absolutely promise it, without the Assistance of some learned Man, whom I can trust, to finde out all such Citations, as I have use of: wherefore blame Me not, if time be unnecessarily lost.

5. Now for the fallaciousness of My Argument (to My knowledge) it was never My practice, nor do I confess to have begun now; For if the Practice of the Primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers, be not a convincing Argument, when the Interpretation of Scripture is doubtful, I know nothing; For, if this be not, then of necessity the Interpretation of private Spirits must be admitted: the which contradicts Saint *Peter*, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. is the Mother of all Sects, and will (if not prevented) bring these Kingdoms

doms into confusion: And to say, that an Argument is ill, because the Papists use it, or, that such a thing is good, because it is the Customs of some of the Reformed Churches; cannot weigh with Me, until you prove, these to be infallible, or that to maintain no Truth: And how *Diotrephes* ambition, (who directly opposed the Apostle S. *John*) can be an Argument against Episcopacy, I do not understand.

6. When I am made a Judge over the Reformed Churches, then, and not before, will I censure their Actions; as you must prove before I confess it, that Presbyters without a Bishop, may lawfully ordain other Presbyters: And as for the Administration of Baptism, as I think none will say, that a Woman can lawfully, or Duly administer it, though when done, it be valid; so none ought to do it, but a lawful Presbyter; whom you cannot deny, but to be absolutely necessary for the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

7. You make a learned succinct discourse of Oaths in general, and their several Obligations, to which I fully agree; intending, in the particular now in question, to be guided by your own Rule, which is (when any Oath hath a special reference to the Benefit of those, to whom I make the Promise, if we have their desire, or consent, the Obligation ceaseth) Now, it must be known, to whom this Oath hath reference, and to whose Benefit; the Answer is clear, onely to the Church of *England*; as by the Record will be plainly made appear; and you much mistake in alleaging that the two Houses of Parliament (especially as they are now constituted) can have this Disobligatory Power, for, (besides that they are not named in it) I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this Church never did submit, nor was subordinate to them; and that it was onely the King and Clergy, who made the Reformation, the Parliament meerly serving to help to give the Civil Sanction; all this being

being proved (of which I make no question) it must necessarily follow, that it is onely the Church of *England* (in whose favor I took this Oath) that can release Me from it: wherefore when the Church of *England* (being lawfully Assembled) shall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I shall esteem My self so.

8. To your last, concerning the King my Father, of happy and famous Memory, both for his Piety and Learning; I must tell you, that I had the happiness, to know him much better then you; wherefore I desire you, not to be too confident, in the knowledge of his Opinions; For, I dare say, should his Ghost now speak, he would tell you, that a Bloody Reformation was never lawful, as not warranted by Gods word, and that *Preces & lachrymæ sunt Arma Ecclesiæ.*

9. To conclude, having replied to all your Paper, I cannot but observe to you, that you have given Me no Answer to My last quære; it may be you are (as *Chaucer* sayes) like the People of *England*, what they not like, they never understand: but in earnest, that question is so pertinent to the Purpose in hand, that it will much serve for My satisfaction; and besides it may be useful for other things.

Newcastle, *C. R.*
June 6. 1646.

For His MAJESTIE.

Mr. *Alex. Henderson*'s second Paper.

SIR,

THe smaller the encouragements be, in relation to the success, (which how small they are, your Majesty well knows:) the more apparent, and, I hope, the more acceptable will my obedience be, in that which in all humility I now go about, at your Majesties Command:

yet

yet while I conſider, that the way of man is not in himſelf; nor is it in man that walketh, to direct his own ſteps; and when I remember how many ſupplications, with ſtrong crying and tears, have been openly and in ſecret offered up in your Majeſties behalfe, unto God that heareth prayer, I have no reaſon to deſpair of a bleſſed ſucceſs.

1. I have been averſe from a diſputation of Divines, 1. For ſaving of time, which the preſent exigence and extremity of affairs, make more then ordinarily precious: While *Archimedes* at *Syracuſe* was drawing his Figures and Circlings in the ſand, *Marcellus* interrupted his demonſtration. 2. Becauſe the common reſult of Diſputes of this kinde, anſwerable to the prejudicate opinions of the Parties, is rather Victory then Verity, while *tanquam tentativi Dialectici*, they ſtudy more to overcome their adverſe Party, then to be overcome of Truth, although this be the moſt glorious Victory. 3. When I was commanded to come hither, no ſuch thing was propoſed to me, nor expected by me. I never judged ſo meanly of the Cauſe, nor ſo highly of my ſelf, as to venture it upon ſuch weakneſs. Much more might be ſpoken to this purpoſe, but I forbear.

2. I will not further trouble your Majeſty with that which is contained in the ſecond Section, hoping that your Majeſty will no more inſiſt upon Education, preſcription of Time, &c. which are ſufficient to prevent Admiration, but (which your Majeſty acknowledges) muſt give place to Reaſon, and are no ſure ground of reſolution of our Faith in any point to be believed: although it be true, that the moſt part of men make theſe and the like to be the ground and rule of their Faith: an Evidence, that their Faith is not a Divine faith, but an humane Credulity.

3. Concerning Reformation of Religion in the third Section, I had need of a Preface to ſo thorny a Theam, as Your Majeſty hath

brought me upon: 1. For the Reforming power: it is conceived, when a General Defection, like a deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, ſo that ſcarcely the tops of the Mountains do appear, a General Councel is neceſſary: but, becauſe that can hardly be obtained, ſeveral Kingdoms (which we ſee was done, at the time of the Reformation) are to reform themſelves, and that by the Authority of their Prince, and Magiſtrates: if the Prince or ſupreme Magiſtrate be unwilling, then may the inferior Magiſtrate, and the People, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reform, within their own Sphere; and if the light ſhine upon all, or the major part, they may, after all other means eſſayed, make a Publique Reformation. This, before this time, I never wrote or ſpoke; yet the Maintainers of this Doctrine, conceive that they are able to make it good. But, Sir, were I worthy to give advice to Your Majeſty, or to the Kings and ſupreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they ſhould draw the mindes, tongues, and pens of the learned, to diſpute about other matter, then the power or Prerogative of Kings and Princes; and in this kinde, Your Majeſty hath ſuffered and loſt more, then will eaſily be reſtored to Your ſelf or Your Poſterity, for a long time. It is not denied but the prime Reforming power, is in Kings and Princes, *quibus----deficientibus*, it comes to the inferior Magiſtrate, *quibus Deficientibus*, it deſcendeth to the Body of the People; ſuppoſing that there is a neceſsity of Reformation, and that by no means it can be obtained of their Superiors. It is true that ſuch a Reformation, is more imperfect, in reſpect of the Inſtruments, and maner of Procedure; yet for the moſt part, more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product: And for this end did I cite the Examples of old of Reformation by Regal Authority; of which none was perfect,

in

in the second way of perfection, except that of *Josiah*. Concerning the saying of *Grosteat*, whom the Cardinals at *Rome* confest to be a more Godly man, than any of themselves; it was his Complaint, and Prediction of what was likely to ensue, not his desire, or Election, if Reformation could have been obtained in the ordinary way. I might bring two unpartial Witnesses, *Jewel* and *Bilson*, both famous English Bishops, to prove that the tumults and troubles raised in *Scotland*, at the time of Reformation, were to be imputed to the Papists opposing of the Reformation, both of Doctrine and Discipline, as an Heretical Innovation; and not to be ascribed to the Nobility, or People, who under God, were the Instruments of it; intending and seeking nothing, but the purging out of Error, and setling of the Truth. 2. Concerning the Reformation of the Church of *England*, I conceive, whether it was begun or not, in K. *Henry* the eights time, it was not finished by Qu. *Elizabeth*: the Father stirred the humors of the diseased Church; but neither the Son nor the Daughter (although we have great reason to bless God for both) did purge them out perfectly: This Perfection is yet reserved for Your Majesty: Where it is said, that all this time I bring no Reasons for a further Change; the fourth Section, of my last Paper, hath many hints of Reasons against Episcopal Government, with an offer of more, or clearing of those; which Your Majesty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And learned men have observed many Defect in that Reformation: As that the Government of the Church of *England*, (for about this is the question now) is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the Apostles; which they, at least cannot deny, who profess Church-Government to be Mutable and Ambulatory; and such were the greater part of Archbishops and Bishops in *England*; contenting themselves with the Consti-

Constitutions of the Church, and the Authority and Munificence of Princes, till of late, that some few have pleaded it to be *Jure Divino*: That, the English Reformation hath not perfectly purged out the Roman Leaven; which is one of the Reasons, that have given ground, to the comparing of this Church, to the Church of *Laodicea*, as being neither hot nor cold, neither Popish nor Reformed, but of a lukewarm temper, betwixt the two: That it hath depraved the Discipline of the Church, by conforming of it to the Civil Policy: That it hath added many Church Offices, higher and lower, unto those instituted by the Son of God; which is as unlawful as to take away offices warranted by the Divine Institution: And other the like, which have moved some to apply this saying to the Church of *England*, *Multi ad perfectionem pervenirent, nisi jam se pervenisse credevent.*

4. In my Answer to the first of Your Majesties many Arguments, I brought a Breviate of some Reasons to prove, that a Bishop and Presbyter, are one and the same in Scripture: from which, by necessary consequence, I did infer the negative; Therefore, no difference in Scripture between a Bishop & a Presbyter; the one name signifying, *Industriam Curæ Pastoralis*; the other, *Sapientiæ Maturitatem*, saith *Beda*. And whereas Your Majesty averrs, that Presbyterian Government was never practised, before *Calvin's* time; Your Majesty knows, the common objection of the Papists, against the Reformed Churches; where was Your Church, Your Reformation, Your Doctrine, before *Luther's* time? One part of the common Answer is, that it was from the beginning, and is to be found in Scripture. The same I affirm of Presbyterian-Government: And for proving of this, the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, have made manifest, that the Primitive Christian Church at Jerusalem was governed by a Presbytery: while they shew,

1. That

1. That the Church of Jeruſalem conſiſted of more Congregations then one, from the multitude of Believers, from the many Apoſtles, and other Preachers in that Church, and from the diverſity of Languages among the Believers. 2. That all theſe Congregations, were under one Presbyterial Government, becauſe they were, for Government, one Church, *Act.* 11. 22, 26. And becauſe that Church was governed by Elders, *Acts* 11. 30. which were Elders of that Church, and did meet together for Acts of Government: And the Apoſtles themſelves, in that meeting, *Acts* 15. acted not as Apoſtles, but as Elders; ſtating the queſtion, debating it, in the ordinary way of diſputation; and having, by ſearch of Scripture, found the will of God, they conclude, *It ſeemed good to the holy Ghoſt and us*: which in the judgement of the learned, may be ſpoken by any Aſſembly, upon like evidence of Scripture. The like Presbyterian Government had place in the Churches of *Corinth, Epheſus, Theſſalonica, &c.* in the times of the Apoſtles; and after them, for many years, when one of the Presbytery was made *Epiſcopus Præſes*, even then, *Communi Presbyterorum Conſilio, Eccleſiæ gubernabantur*, ſaith *Jerome*; *& Epiſcopos magis conſuetudine, quam Diſpoſitionis Divinæ veritate, Presbyteris eſſe majores, & in Commune debere Eccleſiam regere.*

5. Far be it from me to think ſuch a thought, as that Your Majeſty did intend any Fallacy, in Your other main Argument, from Antiquity. As we are to diſtinguiſh between *Intentio Operantis, & Conditio Operis*; ſo may we in this caſe conſider the difference between *Intentio Argumentantis, & Conditio Argumenti.* And where Your Majeſty argues, that, if Your Opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the interpretation of private Spirits, which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtle *Peter*, and will prove to be of dangerous conſequence; I humbly offer to be

conſidered

considered by Your Majesty, what some of chief note among the Papists themselves have taught us, That the interpretation of Scriptures, and the Spirits whence they proceed, may be called private, in a threefold sense, 1. *Ratione Personæ*, if the interpreter be of a private condition. 2. *Ratione Modi & Medii*, when Persons, although not private, use not the publique means which are necessary for finding out the Truth, but follow their own fancies. 3. *Ratione finis*, when the interpretation is not proposed as Authentical to binde others, but is intended onely for our own private satisfaction. The first is not to be despised; the second is to be exploded, and condemned by the Apostle *Peter*; the third ought not to be censured: But that interpretation which is Authentical, and of supreme Authoty, which even mans conscience is bound to yield unto, is of an higher nature. And, although the General Councel should resolve it, and the Consent of the Fathers should be had unto it, yet there must always be place left to the judgement of Discretion, as *Davenant*, late Bishop of *Salisbury*, beside divers others, hath learnedly made appear in his Book, *De Judice Controversiarum*; where also the Power of Kings in matter of Religion, is solidly and unpartially determined. Two words onely I adde; one is, that notwithstanding all that is pretended from Antiquity, a Bishop having sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, will never be found in Prime Antiquity. The other is, that many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that Antichrist, which was conceived in the times of the Apostles, and therefore are incompetent Judges in the question of Hierarchy. And upon the other part, the Lights of the Christian Church, at, and since the beginning of the Reformation, have discovered many secrets, concerning the Antichrist and his Hierarchy, which were not known to former Ages; And diverse of the learned

learned, in the Roman Church, have not feared to pronounce, That, whosoever denies the true and literal sense of many Texts of Scripture, to have been found out in this last Age, is unthankful to God, who hath so plentifully powred forth his Spirit upon the Children of this Generation, and ungrateful towards those men, who with so great pains, so happy success, and so much benefit to Gods Church, have travelled therein: This might be instanced in many places of Scripture: I winde together *Diotrephes* and the Mystery of Iniquity, the one, as an old example of Church-ambition, which was also too palpable in the Apostles themselves; And the other as a cover of Ambition, afterwards discovered; which two, brought forth the great Mystery of the Papacy at last.

6. Although Your Majesty be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet You so far censure them, and their actions, as, without Bishops, in Your judgement, they cannot have a lawful Ministery, nor a due Administration of the Sacraments: Against which dangerous and destructive Opinion, I did alledge what I supposed Your Majesty would not have denied, 1. That Presbyters without a Bishop, may Ordain other Presbyters. 2. That Baptism, administred by such a Presbyter, is another thing than Baptism administred by a private Person, or by a Midwife. Of the first Your Majesty calls for proof: I told before, that in Scripture, it is manifest, 1 *Tim.* 4.14. Neglect not the Gift that is in Thee, which was given Thee by the Prophesie, with the laying on of the hand of the Presbytery; so it is in the English Translation: And the word Presbytery, so often as it is used in the New Testament, always signifies the Persons, and not the Office. And although the Offices of Bishop and Presbyter were distinct; yet doth not the Presbyter derive his power of Order from the Bishop. The Evangelists were inferior

rior to the Apoſtles; yet had they their power not from the Apoſtles, but from Chriſt: The ſame I affirm of the 70 Diſciples, who had their power immediately from Chriſt, no leſs then the Apoſtles had theirs. It may upon better reaſon be averred, that the Biſhops have their power from the Pope, than that Presbyters have their power from the Prelats. It is true, *Jerome* ſaith, *quid facit, excepta ordinatione Epiſcopus, quod non facit Presbyter*; but in the ſame place he proves from Scripture, that *Epiſcopus & Presbyter* are one and the ſame; and therefore when he appropriates Ordination to the Biſhop, he ſpeaketh of the degenerated cuſtom of his time. 2. Concerning Baptiſm, a private Perſon may perform the external Action and Rites both of it and of the Euchariſt; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any efficacy, unleſs it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a Perſon made publique, and clothed with Authority by Ordination. This Error in the matter of Baptiſm, is begot by another Error, of the Abſolute Neceſsity of Baptiſm.

7. To that which hath been ſaid, concerning your Majeſties Oath, I ſhall adde nothing; not being willing to enter upon the queſtion, of the ſubordination of the Church to the Civill power, whether to King, or Parliament, or both, and to either of them, in their own place. Such an Headſhip as the Kings of *England* hath claimed, and ſuch a ſupremacy as the Houſes of Parliament crave, with Appeals from the ſupreme Eccleſiaſticall Judicature to them as ſet over the Church, in the ſame line of Subordination, I doe utterly diſclaime upon ſuch Reaſons as give my ſelfe ſatisfaction, although no man ſhall be more willing to ſubmit to Civill Powers, each one in their owne place; and more unwilling to make any trouble then my ſelfe: Onely concerning the application of the Generals of an Oath, to the particular caſe now in hand; under favour, I conceive

conceive not how the Clergy of the Church of *England*, is, or ought to be principally intended, in your Oath: For, although they were eſteemed to be the Repreſentative Church, yet even that is for the benefit of the Church Collective, *Salus Populi*, being *Suprema Lex*, and to be principally intended. Your Majeſty knowes it was ſo in the Church of *Scotland*, where the like alteration was made. And, if nothing of this kind can be done without the conſent of the Clergy, what Reformation can be expected in *France*, or *Spaine*, or *Rome* it ſelfe? It is not to be expected, that the Pope, or Prelate will conſent to their own ruine.

8. I will not preſume upon any ſecret knowledge of the Opinions held by the King, your Majeſties Father, of famous Memory; they being much better knowne to your Majeſty. I did onely produce, what was profeſt by him, before the world: And although Prayers and Teares be the Armes of the Church; yet, it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducible for Kings and Princes, to force the Church to put on theſe Armes: Nor could I ever heare a reaſon, why a neceſſary Defenſive War againſt unjuſt Violence is unlawfull, although it be joyned with offence and invaſion, which is intended for Defence, but ſo that Armes are layed downe when the Offenſive War ceaſeth: by which it doth appeare, that the Warre on the other ſide, was, in the nature thereof, Defenſive.

9. Concerning the forcing of Conſcience, which I pretermitted in my other Paper, I am forced now, but without forcing of my Conſcience, to ſpeak of. Our Conſcience may be ſaid to be forced; either by our ſelves, or by others. By our ſelves, 1. when we ſtop the eare of our Conſcience, and will not hearken, or give place to information, reſolving obſtinately, *Ne ſi perſuaſeris, perſuadebis*; which is no leſſe than a reſiſting of the Holy Ghoſt,

and

and the hardning of our hearts. 2. Or when we ſtop the mouth, and ſuppreſſe the clamours of our Conſcience; reſolving rather to ſuffer the worme to gnaw, and the fire to burne inwardly, then to make profeſsion of that we are convinced to be Truth. 3. Or when we ſeare our Conſcience, as with an hot Iron, that it becometh ſenſleſſe; which is the puniſhment of the former: unto which is oppoſed, the truly Tender Conſcience; ſuch as *Joſiah* had, 2 *Kings* 22. 19. Againe, 1. Our Conſcience is ſaid to be forced by others, when they obtrude upon us what is in it ſelf evill and unlawfull; which if we admit, againſt our owne Conſcience, we ſinne, two ways: one is, by doing that which is in it ſelfe evill and unlawfull; the other is, by doing it againſt a dictate of Conſcience, which is a contempt of God, whoſe Vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to doe that which is in it ſelfe good, or may lawfully be done, but through errour of Conſcience, we judge it to be evill, and unlawfull: in this caſe, if we doe not that which is preſt upon us, we ſinne, becauſe the thing is good and lawfull: And if we doe it we ſinne, becauſe we doe againſt our Conſcience. Which in this caſe bindeth, but obligeth not: And yet there is a way to eſcape out of this labyrinth, it being repugnant to the equity of the will of God, to lay a Neceſsity of ſinning upon any man: The only way is, to lay aſide ſuch a Conſcience; it being a part of the Old man: Which we are commanded to put off; otherwiſe, we being ſufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our old errour, we rather doe violence to our Conſcience our ſelves, then ſuffer violence from others. The Application, for Anſwering the *quare*, I leave to your Majeſty.

Newcaſtle,
June 17. 1646.

For Master *Alexander Henderson*, In Reply to his second Paper, *June* 22. 1646.

His MAJESTIES *third Paper.*

1. IT were arrogance, besides losse of time, in Me to vie preambles with you; For, it is truth I seek, and neither praise, nor victory; wherefore I shall onely insist upon things which are meerly necessary to my owne satisfaction; in order to which, I desired the assistance of some Divines; whereupon I will insist no further, save onely to wish, that you may not (as I have knowne many Men doe) lose time by being mistaken in the way to save it, wherein I have onely sought to disburthen My self, but to lay no blame upon you, and so I leave it.

2. Nor will I say more of the second then this, that I am glad you have so well approved of what I have said concerning My Education and Reason: but then remember, that another Mans will, is at least, as weake a ground, to build My Faith upon, as My former education.

3. In this there are two points; First, concerning the Reforming power, then anent the English Reformation; For the first, I confesse you now speak clearly, which before you did but darkly mention, wherein I shall mainly differ with you, untill you shall shew Me better reason: yet thus far I will go along with you, that when a Generall Councell cannot be had, severall Kingdomes may reforme themselves, (which is learnedly and fully proved by the late Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his disputation against *Fisher*) but, that the inferior Magistrates or People (take it which way you

you will) have this power, I utterly deny; for which, by your favour, you have yet made no sufficient proof, to My judgment: Indeed, if you could have brought, or can bring authority of Scripture, for this opinion, I would and will, yet, withall reverence submit; but as for your Examples, out of the Old Testament, in My mind, they rather make for, than against Me, all those reformations being made by Kings; and it is a good probable (though I will not say, convincing) Argument, that if God would have approved of a popular reforming way, there were Kings of *Judah* and *Israel* sufficiently negligent and ill to have made such examples by; but by the contrary, the 16. Chap. of *Numbers* shews clearly, how God disapproves of such courses: but I forget this Assertion is to be proved by you; yet I may put you in the way, wherefore let Me tell you, that this pretended power in the People, must (as all others) either be directly, or else declaratorily by approbation, given by God; which, how soone you can doe, I submit; otherwise you prove nothing: For the citing of private Mens opinions (more then as they concurre with the generall consent of the Church in their time) weighs little with Me, it being too well known, that Rebels never wanted Writers to maintain their unjust actions; and though I much reverence Bishop *Jewel's* memory, I never thought him infallible; for *Bilson* I remember well what opinion the King my Father had of him for those Opinions, and how He shewed him some favor in hope of his recantation, (as His good nature made Him doe many things of that kind) but whether he did, or not, I cannot say: To conclude this point, untill your shall prove this position by the word of God, (as I will Regall Authority) I shall thinke all popular Reformation, little better than Rebellions; for, I hold that no Authority is lawful, but that which is either directly given, or at least,

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approved by God. Secondly, Concerning the English Reformation, the first reason you bring why queen *Elizabeth* did not finish it, is, because she took not away Episcopacy, the hints of reason against which Government, you say I take no notice of; now I thought it was sufficient notice, yea and answer too, when I told you, a Negative (as I conceived) could not be proved, and that it was for Me to prove the Affirmative; which I shall either doe, or yield the Argument, as soon as I shall be assisted with Books, or such Men of My opinion, who, like you, have a Library in their braine: And so I must leave this particular, untill I be furnished with meanes to put it to an issue; which had been sooner done, if I could have had My will: indeed your second well proved, is most sufficient, which is, that the English Church-Government is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the Apostles; but I conceive your probation of this, doubly defective; for first, albeit our Archbishops and Bishops should have professed Church-Government to be mutable and ambulatory, I conceive it not sufficient to prove your Assertion: And secondly, I am confident you cannot prove, that most of them maintained this walking position, (for some particulars must not conclude the generall) for which you must find much better Arguments, than their being content with the Constitution of the Church, and the authority and munificence of Princes, or you will fall extreamly short: As for the retaining of the Roman leaven, you must prove it as wel as say it, else you say little: But that the conforming of the Church discipline to the civill policy, should be a depraving of it, I absolutely deny; for I averre, that without it, the Church can neither flourish, nor be happy. And for your last instance, you shall doe well to shew the prohibition of our Saviour against addition of more Officers in the Church than

than he named; and yet in one sence I doe not conceive that the Church of *England* hath added any; for, an Archbishop is onely a distinction for order of Government, not a new Officer, and so of the rest; and of this kind, I believe there are diverse now in *Scotland* which you will not condemne, as the Moderators of Assemblies, and others.

4. Where you find a Bishop, and Presbyter, in Scripture, to be one and the same (which I deny to be always so) it is in the Apostles time; now I think to prove the Order of Bishops, succeeded that of the Apostles, and that the name was chiefly altered, in reverence to those who were immediatly chosen by our Saviour, (albeit, in their time, they caused diverse to be called so, as *Barnabas* and others) so that, I believe, this Argument makes little for you: As for your proof of the antiquity of Presbyterian Government, it is well that the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* can doe more then *Eusebius* could, and I shall believe, when I see it; for, your former Paper affirmes, that those times were very dark for matter of fact, and wil be so still for Me, if there be no clearer Arguments to prove it, then those you mention: for, because there were diverse Congregations in *Jerusalem*; *ergo*, what? are there not divers Parishes in one Dioceſſe? (your two first I answer but as one Argument) and because the Apostles met with those of the inferior Order, for Acts of Government; what then? even so in these times do the Deans and Chapters, and many times those of the inferior Clergy assist the Bishops; but I hope you will not pretend to say, that there was an equality between the Apostles and other Presbyters, which not being, doth (in My judgment) quite invalidate these Arguments: And if you can say no more for the Churches of *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Thessalonica*, *&c.* then you have for *Jerusalem*, it will gaine no ground on Me: As for S. *Jerome*, it is well known that he was no great

great Friend to Bishops, as being none himself, yet take him altogether, and you will find that he makes a cleer distinction between a Bishop and a Presbyter, as your self confesses; but the truth is, he was angry with those who maintained Deacons to be equall to Presbyters.

5. I am well satisfied with the explanation of your meaning concerning the word *fallacy*, though I think to have had reason for saying what I did: But, by your favour, I doe not conceive that you have answered the strength of my Argument, for when you and I differ upon the interpretation of Scripture, and I appeale to the practise of the Primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers, to be judge between us, methinks you should either find a fitter, or submit to what I offer; neither of which (to My understanding) you have yet done; nor have you shewn how, waving those Judges I appeale unto, the mischief of the interpretation by private Spirits, can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by antiquity, that Ordination and Jurisdiction belongs to Bishops, (thereby cleerly distinguishing them from other Presbyters) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of My former foundations; (as for Bishop *Davenant*, he is none of those, to whom I have appealed, or will submit unto) but for the exception you take to Fathers, *I* take it to be a begging of the question; as likewise those great discoveries of secrets, not known to former Ages, I shall call new-invented fancies, untill particularly you shall prove the contrary; and for your Roman Authors, it is no great wonder for them to seek shifts whereby to maintain Novelties, as well as the Puritans: As for Church-ambition, it doth not at all terminate, in seeking to be Pope; for, I take it to be no point of humility to endeavour to be independent of Kings, it being possible, that Papacy in a multitude may be as dangerous as in one.

6. As I am no Judge over [the Reformed Churches,

Churches, so neither doe I censure them, for many things may be avowable upon necessity, which otherways are unlawfull; but know, once for all, that I esteem nothing the better because it is done by such a particular Church (though it were by the Church of *England*, which I avow most to reverence) but I esteem that Church most, which comes neareſt to the purity of the primitive Doctrine and Discipline, as I believe this doth: Now concerning Ordination, I bad you prove that Presbyters without a Bishop might lawfully ordaine, which yet I conceive you have not done; for, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. it is evident that S. *Paul* was at *Timothies* ordination; And albeit that all the Seventy had their power immediately from Christ, yet it is as evident that our Savior made a cleare distinction between the 12 Apostles & the rest of the Disciples, which is set down by 3 of the Evangelists, whereof S. *Marke* calls it an *ordination*, *Mark* 3. 15. and S. *Luke* sayes, *And of them he chose Twelve, &c. Luke* 6. 13. onely S. *Matthew* doth but barely enumerate them by their name of distinction, *Mat.* 10. 1. I suppose out of modesty, himselfe being one, and the other two being none are more particular: For the administration of Baptisme, giving, but not granting what you say, it makes more for Me then you: but I will not engage upon new questions, nor necessary for My purpose.

7. For My Oath, you doe well not to enter upon those questions you mention; and you had done as well to have omitted your instance; but, out of discretion, I desire you to collect your Answer out of the last Section; and for your Argument, though the intention of My Oath be for the good of the Church collective, therefore can I be dispensed withall by others than the representative Body? certainly no more than the People can dispence with Me for any Oaths I took in their favors, without the two Houses of Parliament; as for future

reſor-

formations. I will onely tell you that *incommodum non solvit Argumentum.*

8. For the King my Fathers opinion, if I were not to spend time (as I believe) needlesly, I could prove by living and written testimonies, all, and more, then I have said of Him, for His perswasion in these points which I now maintaine; and for your defensive Warre, as I doe acknowledge it a great sinne for any King to oppresse the Church, so I hold it absolutely unlawfull for Subjects (upon any pretence whatsoever) to make War (though defensive) against their lawfull Soveraigne; against which no lesse proofs will make Me yield but Gods word; and let Me tell you, that upon such points as these, instances, as well as comparisons, are odious.

9. Lastly, you mistake the quære in my first Paper to which this pretends to answer; for my question was not concerning force of Arguments (for I never doubted the lawfulnesse of it) but force of Armes, to which, I conceive, it sayes little or nothing, unlesse (after My example) you referre Me to the former Section; that which it doth, is meerly the asking of the question, after a fine discourse of the severall wayes of perswading rather than forcing of conscience: I close up this Paper, desiring you to take notice, that there is none of these Sections but I could have enlarged to many more lines, some to whole pages; yet I chose to be thus brief, knowing you will understand more by a word than others by a long discourse; trusting likewise to your ingenuity, that reason epitomized, will weigh as much with you as if it were at large.

C. R.

June 22. 1645.

For His MAJESTIE.

Concerning the Authority of the Fathers, and practise of the Church.

July 2. 1646.

M. *Alex: Henderſons* third Paper.

HAving in my formet Papers preſſed the ſteps of your Majeſties Propoſitions, and finding by your Majeſties laſt Paper, Controverſies to be multiplied (I believe) beyond your Majeſties intentions in the beginning: As concerning the *Reforming Power*; The *Reformation of the Church of England*; The *difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter*; The *warrants of Presbyterian Government*; The *Authority of Interpreting Scripture*; The *taking and keeping of Publique Oathes*; The *forcing of Conſcience*; and many other inferior and ſubordinate queſtions, which are Branches of thoſe main Controverſies: All which in a ſatisfactory maner to determine in few words, I leave to more preſuming Spirits, who either ſee no knots of Difficulties, or can finde a way rather to cut them aſſunder, than to unlooſe them: yet will I not uſe any Tergiverſation; nor do I decline to offer my humble Opinion, with the Reaſons thereof, in the own time concerning each of them; which in obedience to your Majeſties command I have begun to do already. Onely Sir, by your Majeſties favorable permiſsion, for the greater expedition, and that the preſent velitations may be brought to ſome iſſue, I am bold to entreat, That the method may be a little altered, and I may have leave now to begin at a Principle, and that which ſhould have been, *inter Precognita*; I mean, the Rule, by which we are to proceed, and to determine the preſent Controverſie of Church Policy; without which, we will be led into a labyrinth, and want a thred to winde us out again. In your Majeſties firſt Paper, the Univerſ. l cuſtom of the

the Primitive Church, is conceived to be the Rule. In the ſecond Paper, Section the 5. the Practice of the Primitive Church, and the Univerſal conſent of the Fathers, is made a convincing Argument, when the Interpretation of Scripture is doubtful. In your third Paper, Section 5. the Practice of the Primitive Church, and the univerſal con ent of the Fathers, is made Judge: and I know, that nothing is more ordinary in this queſtion, then to alleage Antiquity, Perpetual Succeſsion, Univerſal Conſent of the Fathers, and the Univerſal Practice of the Primitive Church, according to the Rule of *Auguſtine, quod univerſa tenet Eccleſia, nec a Conſilio inſtitutum, ſed ſemper retentum eſt, non, niſi Authoritate Apoſtolica, traditum rectiſſime creditur.* There is in this Argument at the firſt view, ſo much appearance of Reaſon, that it may much work upon a modeſt minde; yet being well examined and rightly weighed, it will be found to be of no great weight: for beſide that the minor will never be made good, in the behalf of a Dioceſan Biſhop, having ſole power of Ordination and Juriſdiction, there being a multitude of Fathers, who maintain that Biſhop and Presbyter are of one and the ſame Order: I ſhall humbly offer ſome few Conſiderations about the major, becauſe it hath been an inlet to many dangerous Errors, and hath proved a mighty hinderance and obſtruction to Reformation of Religion.

1. Firſt, I deſire it may be conſidered, that whiles ſome make two Rules for defining Controverſies, The Word of God and Antiquity (which they will have to be received with equal veneration) or, as the Papiſts call them, Canonical Authority, and Catholical Tradition, and others make Scripture to be the onely Rule, and Antiquity the authentique Interpreter; the latter of the two ſeems to me to be the greater error: becauſe the firſt ſetteth up a Parallel, in the ſame degree with Scripture;

but this would create a Superior, in a higher degree above the Scripture: For the interpretation of the Fathers ſhall be the Διοτὶ, and accounted the very Cauſe and Reaſon for which we conceive and believe ſuch a place of Scripture to have ſuch a ſence; and thus, Men ſhall have dominion over our Faith, againſt 2 *Cor.*1.24. Our faith ſhall ſtand in the wiſdom of man, and not in the power of God, 1 *Cor.*2.5. and Scripture ſhall be of private interpretation: for the Propheſie came not of old by the will of man, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20, 22. *Niſi hommi Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, Homo jam Deo propitius eſſe debebit*, ſaith *Tertullian.*

2. That Scripture cannot be Authentically interpreted but by Scripture, is manifeſt from Scripture: The Levites gave the ſenſe of the Law by no other means, but by Scripture it ſelf, *Neh.*8.8. Our Savior for example to us, gave the true ſenſe of Scripture, againſt the depravations of Satan, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not by alleaging any Teſtimonies out of the Rabbins, *Mat.*4. And the Apoſtles in their Epiſtles, uſed no other help, but the diligent comparing of Prophetical writings; like as the Apoſtle *Peter* will have us to compare the clearer light of the Apoſtles, with the more obſcure light of the Prophets, 2 *Pet.* 1. 19. And when we betake our ſelves to the Fathers, we have need to take heed, that, with the Papiſts, we accuſe not the Scriptures of obſcurity or imperfection.

3. The Fathers themſelves (as they are cited by Protestant Writers) hold this Concluſion, That Scripture is not to be interpreted, but by Scripture it ſelf: To this purpoſe, amongſt many other Teſtimonies, they bring the ſaying of *Tertullian*, *Surge veritas, ipſa Scripturas tuas interpretare, quam Conſuetudo non norit; nam ſi noſcet, non eſſet:* if it knew Scripture, it would be aſhamed of it ſelf, and ceaſe to be any more.

4. That ſome Errors have been received, and

and continued for a long time, in the Church: The Error of Free-will beginning at *Juſtin Martyr*, continued till the time of Reformation, although it was rejected by *Auguſtine*, as the *Divine Right of Epiſcopacy* was oppoſed by others. The Error about the Viſion of God, That *the Souls of the Saints departed, ſee not the face of God, till the Judgement of the Great Day*, was held by Univerſal conſent: The ſame may be ſaid of the Error of the Millenaries; and which more nearly toucheth upon the preſent queſtion, the Ancients erred groſly about the Antichriſt and Myſtery of Iniquity, which did begin to work in the days of the Apoſtles. Many other Inſtances might be brought to prove the Univerſal Practice of the Church, as were not warranted by the Apoſtles, as in the Rites of Baptiſm and Prayer; and the forming up, and drawing together of the Articles of that Creed, that is called *Symbolum Apoſtolicum*; the obſervation of many Feaſts and Faſts, both Anniverſary & weekly.

5. That it is not a matter ſo incredible, or impoſsible, as ſome would have it appear to be, for the Primitive Church to have made a ſudden defection from the Apoſtolical purity: The people of Iſrael, in the ſhort time of *Moſes* his abſence on the Mount, turned aſide quickly, and fell into horrible Idolatry, *Exod.* 32. ſoon after the death of *Joſhuah*, and the Elders that had ſeen the great works which the Lord had done for Iſrael, there aroſe another Generation after them, which did evil in the ſight of the Lord, *Judg.* 2. & 7. ſoon after the building of the Temple, and ſetling of Religion by *David* and *Solomon*, the worſhip of God was defiled with Idolatry: when *Rehoboam* had eſtabliſhed the Kingdom, he forſook the Law of the Lord, and all Iſrael with him, 2 *Chron.* 12. 1. And the Apoſtle ſays to the Galatians, *Gal.* 1. 6. *I marvel that you are ſo ſoon removed unto another Goſpel:* why then ſhall we think it ſtrange, that in the matter of Diſcipline,

there ſhould be a ſudden defection, eſpecially it being begun in the time of the Apoſtles? I know it is a common Opinion, but I believe there be no ſtrong Reaſons for it, that the Church which was neareſt the times of the Apoſtles was the moſt pure and perfect Church.

6. That it is impoſsible to come to the knowledge of the Univerſal Conſent and Practice of the Primitive Church: For many of the Fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are periſhed (it may be that both theſe have diſſented from the reſt) many of the writings which we have under their Names are ſuppoſitious and counterfeit, eſpecially about Epiſcopacy, which was the foundation of Papal Primacy: The Rule of *Auguſtine* aforementioned, doth too much favor Traditions, and is not to be admitted, without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like Conſiderations may be added; but theſe may be ſufficient to prove, That the Unanimous Conſent of the Fathers, and the Univerſal Practice of the Primitive Church, is no ſure ground of Authentical Interpretation of Scripture. I remember of a grave Divine in *Scotland*, much honored by King *James* of happy Memory, who did often profeſs, that he did learn more of one page of *John Calvin*, then of a whole Treatiſe of *Auguſtine*: nor can there be any good Reaſon, (many there be againſt it) why the Ancients ſhould be ſo far preferred to the Modern Doctors of the Reformed Churches, and the one in a maner Deified, and the other vilified: It is but a poor Reaſon that ſome give, *Fama miratrix ſenioris ævi*, and is abundantly anſwered by the Apologiſt for Divine Providence. If your Majeſty be ſtill unſatisfied concerning the Rule, I know not to what purpoſe I ſhould proceed, or trouble your Majeſty any more.

Newcaſtle,
July 2. 1646.

For Mr. *Alex: Henderſon*, *July* 3. 1646.

His MAJESTIES *fourth Paper.*

I Shall very willingly follow the *method* you have begun in your third Paper; but I do not conceive, that My laſt Paper multiplies more Controverſies, than My firſt gave occaſion for; having been ſo far from augmenting the Heads of our Diſputation, that I have omitted the anſwering many things, in both your Papers, expreſly to avoid raiſing of new and needleſs queſtions; deſiring to have only ſo many debated, as are ſimply neceſſary to ſhew, Whether or not I may with a ſafe Conſcience give way to the alteration of Church-Government in *England*: and indeed I like very well to begin with the ſetling of the Rule by which we are to proceed, and determine the preſent Controverſie; To which purpoſe (as I conceive) My third Paper ſhews you an excellent way; for there, I offer you a Judge between us, or deſire you to finde out a better, which, to My judgement, you have not yet done, (though you have ſought to invalidate Mine) For, if you underſtand to have offered the Scripture, though no man ſhall pay more reverence, nor ſubmit more humbly to it, than My ſelf; yet we muſt finde ſome Rule to judge betwixt us, when you and I differ upon the Interpretation of the ſelf-ſame Text, or it can never determine our queſtions; as for example, I ſay you miſapply that of 2 *Cor.* 1. 24. to Me (let others anſwer for themſelves) for I know not how I make *other men to have dominion over My Faith*, when I make them onely *ſerve to approve My reaſon*; nor do I conceive how 1 *Cor.* 2. 5. can be applied to this purpoſe: For there Saint *Paul* onely ſhews the difference between Divine and Human Eloquence, making no mention of any kinde of Interpretation throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed

Saint

S. *Peter* does, 2 *Pet.*1. 20. which I conceive makes for Me; for, since that no Propheſie of Scripture is of any private interpretation; Firſt, I infer, that Scripture is to be Interpreted; for elſe, the Apoſtle would have omitted the word Private: Secondly, that at leaſt the conſent of many learned Divines is neceſſary, and ſo *a fortiore*, that of the Catholique Church, ought to be an authentique Judge, when Men differ: And is it a good Argument? becauſe (*Mat.*4. 4, 7, 10.) Scripture is beſt interpreted by it ſelf, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawful? certainly you cannot think: Thus having ſhewed you that We differ about the meaning of the Scripture, and are like to do ſo; certainly there ought to be for this, as well as other things, a Rule or a Judge between us, to determine our differences, or, at leaſt, to make our Probations and Arguments Relevant; therefore evading, for this time, to Anſwer your 6 Conſiderations (not I aſſure you for the difficulty of them, but the ſtarting of new queſtions) I deſire you onely to ſhew Me a better, than what I have offered unto you.

C. R.

Newcaſtle, July 3. 1646.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderſon*,
A particular Anſwer to Mr. *Alex. Henderſons*.
July 3. 16. 1646.

His MAJESTIES fifth Paper.

VNtil you ſhall finde out a fitter way to decide our Difference in Opinion concerning Interpretation of Scripture, than the Conſent of the Fathers, and the Univerſal Practice of the Primitive Church, I cannot but paſs you My Judgement anent thoſe ſix Conſiderations, which you offered to invali-

date

date those Authorities, that I so much reverence.

1. In the first you mention two Rules for defining of Controversies, and seek a most old way to confute them, as I think; For you alledge, that there is more attributed to them, then I believe you can prove, by the Consent of most learned Men (there being no question, but there are always some flattering Fools that can commend nothing but with hyperbolick expressions) and you know that *suppositio quolibet, sequitur quidlibet*; besides do you think, that albeit some ignorant Fellows, should attribute more power to Presbyters, than is really due unto them, that thereby their just reverence and authority is diminished? So I see no reason why I may not safely maintain, that the Interpretation of Fathers, is a most excellent strengthening to My Opinion, though Others should attribute the Cause and Reason of their Faith unto it.

2. As there is no question, but that Scripture is the far best Interpreter of it self, so I see nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithstanding your positive affirmation.

3. Nor in the next, for I hope you will not be the first to condemn your self, Me, and innumerable Others, who yet unblameably have not tyed themselves to this Rule.

4. If in this you onely intend to prove, that Errors were always breeding in the Church, I shall not deny it, yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpose; but if your meaning be, to accuse the Universal Practice of the Church with Error, I must say it is a very bold undertaking; and (if you cannot justifie your self by clear places in Scripture) much to be blamed, wherein you must not alledge that to be universally received, which was not, as I dare say, that the Controversie about Free will, was never yet decided, by Oecumenical or General Councel; nor must you presume to

call that an Error, which really the Catholique Church maintained (as in Rites of Baptism, Forms of Prayer, Observation of Feasts, Fasts, &c.) except you can prove it so by the Word of God; and it is not enough to say, that such a thing was not warranted by the Apostles, but you must prove by their Doctrine, that such a thing was unlawful, or else the Practice of the Church is warrant enough for Me to follow and obey that Custome, whatsoever it be, and think it good, and shall believe that the Apostles Creed was made by them, (such Reverence I bear to the Churches Tradition) until other Authors be certainly found out.

5. I was taught that *de posse ad esse* was no good Argument; and indeed to Me it is incredible, that any custome of the Catholique Church was erroneous, which was not contradicted by Orthodox, learned Men, in the times of their first Practice, as is easily perceived that all those Defections were, (some of them may be justly called Rebellions) which you mention.

6. I deny it is impossible, (though I confess it difficult) to come to the knowledge of the Universal Consent, and Practice of the Primitive Church, therefore I confess a Man ought to be careful how to believe things of this nature; wherefore I conceive this to be onely an Argument for Caution.

My Conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any Authority equal to the Scriptures; yet I do think the Unanimous Consent of the Fathers, and the Universal Practice of the Primitive Church, to be the best and most Authentical Interpreters of Gods word, and consequently the fittest Judges between Me and you, when we differ, until you shall finde Me better: For example, I think you for the present, the best Preacher in New-Castle, yet I believe you may erre, and possibly a better Preacher may come, but till then, must retain My opinion.

Newcastle, *C. R.*
July 16. 1646. The End.

HIS MAJESTIES PRAYERS in the time of His RESTRAINT.

A Prayer in time of Captivity.

O Powerful and Eternal God! to whom nothing is so great that it may resist, or so small, that it is contemned; look upon My Misery with Thine eye of Mercy, and let Thine infinite power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to Thee shall seem most convenient; let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not My unjust enemies the ministers of thy Justice: But yet My God, if in Thy wisdom this be the aptest chastisement for my unexcusable transgressions; if this ingrateful bondage be fittest for My over-high desires; if the pride of My (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto Thy will, and cheerfully embrace what sorrow Thou wilt have Me suffer: Onely thus much let Me crave of thee, (Let My craving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from Thee) that by Thy goodness which is Thy self, Thou wilt suffer some beam of Thy Majesty so to shine in My minde, that I, who acknowledge it My Noblest Title to be Thy Creature, may still in My greatest Afflictions depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamity be the exercise, but not the overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My destruction. And if it be Thy will that they more and more vex Me with punishment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that

that I may ſtill carry a pure minde, and ſtedfaſt reſolution ever to ſerve Thee, without fear or preſumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may beſt pleaſe Thee; ſo that at the laſt I may come to Thy eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Savior Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

A Prayer and Confeſſion made in and for the times of Affliction.

ALmighty and moſt merciful Father, as it is onely Thy goodneſs that admits of Our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of Thy accepting, or granting them; ſo it is our bounden and neceſſary duty to confeſs our ſins freely unto Thee; and of all men living, I have moſt need, moſt reaſon, ſo to do, no man having been ſo much obliged by Thee, no man more grievouſly offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou haſt given Me, adding likewiſe to the guilt of My tranſgreſsions. For was it through ignorance, that I ſuffered innocent blood to be ſhed by a falſe pretended way of Juſtice? or that I permitted a wrong way of thy Worſhip, to be ſet up in *Scotland*? and injured the Biſhops in *England*? O no; but with ſhame and grief I confeſs, that I therein followed the perſwaſions of worldly wiſdom, forſaking the Dictates of a right enformed Conſcience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty: Grant therefore merciful Father, ſo to ſtrengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that Thou mayeſt clear the way for Thine own mercies, to which O let Thy juſtice at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedy end to My deſerved afflictions. In the mean time, give Me Patience to endure, Conſtancy againſt Temptations, and a diſcerning ſpirit, to chooſe what is beſt for thy

thy Church and People which thou haſt committed to My Charge. Grant this, O moſt merciful Father, for thy Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, our onely Savior. *Amen.*

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Moſt merciful Father, though My ſins are ſo many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than ſo great a deliverance, as to free Me from My preſent great danger; yet, O Lord, ſince Thy mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never faileſt to relieve all thoſe who with humble and unfeined repentance come to Thee for ſuccor, it were to multiply, not diminiſh My tranſgreſsions to deſpair of Thy heavenly favor: wherefore I humbly deſire Thy Divine Majeſty, that Thou wilt not onely Pardon all My ſins, but alſo free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath againſt My hainous Offences will not otherways be ſatisfied, than by ſuffering Me to fall under My preſent afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble Importunity, I do and ſhall never leave to implore the aſsiſtance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that My cauſe, as I am Thy Vicegerent, may not ſuffer through My weakneſs, or want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My minde, that with clearneſs I may ſhew forth Thy Truth, and mantully endure this bloody Trial, and ſo My ſufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewiſe be a furtherance to My ſalvation hereafter. Grant this, O merci ul Father, for hisſake who ſuffered for Me, even Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous. *Amen.*

Munday,

¶ *A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Ladie* Elizabeth *and the Duke of* Gloceſter, *the day before His Death.*

HIs Children being come to meet Him, He firſt gave His bleſſing to the Ladie *Elizabeth*, and bade her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever ſhe ſhould ſee him, That it was his Fathers laſt deſire, that he ſhould no more look upon *Charls* as his eldeſt Brother only, but be obedient unto him, as his Soveraign; and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then ſaid the King to her, Sweet heart, you'l forget this: No (ſaid ſhe) I ſhal never forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promiſed Him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloceſter* upon His knee, ſaid, Sweet heart, now they wil cut off thy Fathers Head; (upon which words the Childe looked very ſtedfaſtly upon Him) Mark Childe what I ſay, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay, You muſt not be a King, ſo long as your Brothers *Charls* and *James* doe live; For they wil cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at the laſt: and therefore, I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the Childe ſighing, ſaid, I wil be torn in pieces firſt. Which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

¶ *Another Relation from the Lady* Elizabeths *owne Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to me the 29. of *Jan.* 1648. being the laſt time I had the happineſſe to ſee Him; He told me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat He had to ſay to me, which He had not to ſay to another, or leave in writing, becauſe He feared their Cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wiſhed me not to

grieve

grieve and torment my ſelf for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He ſhould die; it being for the Lawes and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers* Eccleſiaſticall Politie, and Biſhop *Laud's* Booke againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt Popery. He told me He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded Us, and all the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters to forgive them: He bid me tell my Mother, that His thoughts had never ſtraied from Her, and that His Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withall, He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me ſend His Bleſsing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all Hi Friends: So after He had given me His Bleſsing, I tooke my leave. Further, He commanded Us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they had been moſt falſe to Him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and He feared alſo to their own ſouls: And deſired me not to grieve for Him, for He ſhould die a Martyr; and that He doubted not but the Lord would ſettle His Throne upon Hi Son, and that We ſhould be all happier, than We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember.

¶ *Another Relation from the Lady* Elizabeth.

THe King ſaid to the Duke of *Glocester*, that He would ſay nothing to him but what was for the good of his Soul: He told him, that he heard that the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul, for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His bleſſing, never to accept of it, unleſſe it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to feare the Lord, and he would provide for him.

A Copie of a Letter which was ſent from the Prince to the King; Dated from the *Hague*, *Jan.* 23. *Anno Dom.* 1648.

SIR,

HAving no meanes to come to the knowledge of your Majeſties preſent condition, but ſuch as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Reports, I have ſent this Bearer (Seamour) *to wait upon Your Majeſtie; and to bring me an account of it: that I may withall aſſure Your Majeſtie, I doe not onely pray for Your Majeſtie according to my Dutie; but ſhall alwaies be ready to doe all which ſhall be in my power to deſerve that Bleſſing which I now humbly beg of your Majeſtie upon*

SIR,

Your Majeſties

Hague,
Jan. 23.
1648.

moſt humble and moſt

obedient Sonne

and Servant

CHARLS.

The Superſcription was thus,
FOR THE KING.

FINIS.